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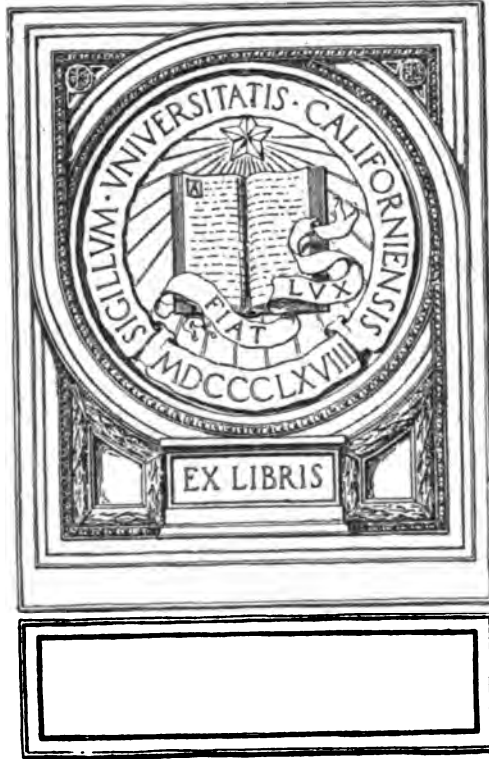
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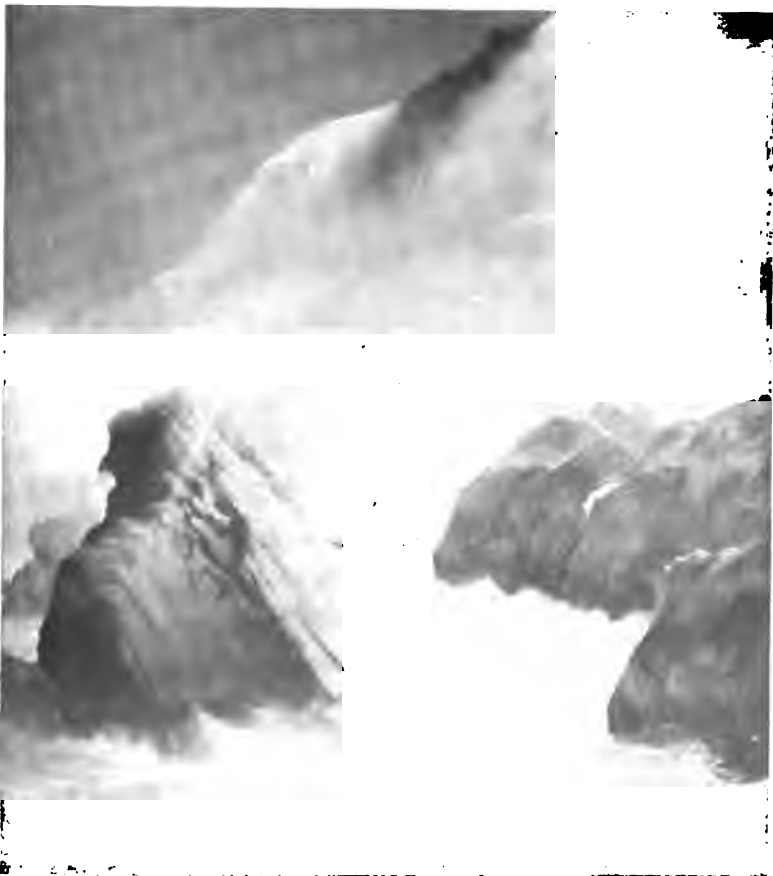
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO

EDITED BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

Univ. of
California

TO VINU
ANROFLIAO



CAVE OF THE WINDS, NIAGARA FALLS.

Painted by Reginald Cleveland Cox. Presented to the Buffalo
Historical Society, 1917. Size of original canvas,
6½ by 8½ feet. See page 415.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXII

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
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1918

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TO VISIT
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* Succeeding Frank M. Hollister, died Jan. 23, 1916.

† Succeeding Willis O. Chapin, died Apr. 7, 1917.

‡ Succeeding William G. Justice, resigned.

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

*MILLARD FILLMORE,	1862 to 1867
*HENRY W. ROGERS,	1868
*REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER, D. D.,	1869
*ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL,	1870
*HON. NATHAN K. HALL,	1871
*WILLIAM H. GREENE,	1872
*ORLANDO ALLEN,	1873
*OLIVER G. STEELE,	1874
*HON. JAMES SHELDON,	1875 and 1886
*WILLIAM C. BRYANT,	1876
*CAPT. E. P. DORR,	1877
*HON. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH,	1878
*WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN,	1879 and 1885
*HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY,	1880
*HON. JAMES M. SMITH,	1881
*WILLIAM HODGE,	1882
*WILLIAM DANA FOBES,	1883 and 1884
*EMMOR HAINES,	1887
*JAMES TILLINGHAST,	1888
*WILLIAM K. ALLEN,	1889
*GEORGE S. HAZARD,	1890 and 1892
*JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D.,	1891
*JULIUS H. DAWES,	1893
ANDREW LANGDON,	1894 to 1909
HON. HENRY W. HILL,	1910 —

*Deceased.

PREFACE

THE table of contents of this volume is its best introduction to the reader; but the editor finds the inevitable Preface useful, as affording opportunity for grateful acknowledgment to the writers of the principal papers herein contained. In no volume of the lengthening series of our Publications, has there been a more capable or representative list of contributors, nor have the papers submitted been more important as chapters in the history of Buffalo and the neighboring region.

Several of these papers constitute an Educational group, with theme and interest centering in the University of Buffalo. The editor was happily led when he invited Mr. Julian Park to write the history of that institution, and Mr. Park was happier yet in his accomplishment. Grateful acknowledgment is due Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard for her painstaking chronicle of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, for almost a quarter century conspicuously active in this community, in well-directed philanthropy and specialized educational training; and now merged in the University. Admirably associated with these studies are the fine tributes to Dr. Roswell Park and Dr. Ernest Wende, from the capable pens of their respective co-workers and close friends, Dr. Charles G. Stockton and Hon. Adelbert Moot. In this association also may well be mentioned the warm tribute to Mr. Frank M. Hollister, by the Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, Mr. Charles P. Norton.

A notable contribution to Niagara regional history is the monograph on Niagara ship canal projects, by Hon. Henry W. Hill, president of the Buffalo Historical Society. The contributions of Mr. Hill and of Hon. George Clinton, representing this Society, to the Erie Canal centenary exercises at Rome, N. Y., July 4, 1917, are virtually part

of the proceedings of this Society, and are fittingly recorded in its Publications.

It is perhaps well to remind the reader that the proceedings of three annual meetings of the Society—the president's and secretary's reports for 1916, 1917 and 1918—appear in this volume because the two preceding volumes of our Publications were wholly devoted to one study—Severance's "An Old Frontier of France." As that work was published for the general trade, as well as for the members of the Buffalo Historical Society, it was obviously undesirable to print Society proceedings in it. The three-years' record contained in the present issue continues the record of proceedings from Volume XIX, issued in 1915.

There is a steadily increasing demand for the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Many recent members, as well as libraries and educational institutions in many parts of the country, are filling out their sets as far as possible. Most of the earlier volumes can be supplied, some of them at reduced price, by the Society. Volumes I, II, and XVI are scarce. The Society is at all times pleased to assist those seeking to complete their sets. Application to the secretary will bring prompt response.

The following brief summary indicates the character of the successive volumes. A detailed list, giving the contents of each volume, will be sent free on application.

Volumes I and II—long out of print—deal chiefly with the early history of Buffalo and the Great Lakes, early transportation and the War of 1812. Volume III relates wholly to the Seneca Indians, especially Red Jacket. Volumes IV to IX contain scores of papers on various phases of Western New York history. Volumes X and XI contain a Life of Millard Fillmore, with his speeches and correspondence. Volume XII is a "History of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State," by Henry Wayland Hill, LL. D., president of the Historical Society. Volumes XIII and XIV relate to canal enlargement, the Holland Land Company, journals of early travel, etc. Volume XV, "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," by

Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Society, presents the literary, artistic and scientific aspect of the Niagara Falls region. Volume XVI, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," by the same author, contains over 400 engravings, with descriptive text. Vol. XVII is especially valuable for its hitherto unpublished documents of the War of 1812. It also contains a full account of the semi-centennial of the Buffalo Historical Society. Vol. XVIII, entitled "Peace Episodes on the Niagara," contains a history of the peace conference in behalf of Mexico, held at Niagara Falls, Ont., in 1914; the story of other peace episodes; contributions to the history of the War of 1812, etc. Vol. XIX is notable for its biography of Josephus Nelson Larned and a collection of his essays and addresses. It also contains an historical sketch and very full bibliography, of the periodical press of Buffalo, 1811 to date. Vols. XX and XXI are a narrative history, by Frank H. Severance, of the Niagara region and Lower Lakes under French domination; the work is entitled, "An Old Frontier of France."

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**A HISTORY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO
1846-1917**

BY JULIAN PARK

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JULIAN PARK**

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO¹

BY JULIAN PARK.

*Secretary, Department of Arts and Sciences,
University of Buffalo.*

I. THE BEGINNINGS.

In few instances are the initial steps which led to the creation of great educational institutions fully known. In many cases no record was ever made of them, their interest and importance not being realized when the events occurred. In the case of the most of Buffalo's historic institutions records have fortunately been preserved or else the institutions are not yet so old that they have lost either their founders or the second generation of their founders, to hand down personal reminiscences, made permanent when their importance is understood. The Civil War years were not so turbulent as to prevent or postpone the founding of several of those institutions of which the city is proudest — the Historical Society, the Fine Arts Academy, and the Society of Natural Sciences.

Buffalo's University reaches back further than any of these, and the movement to extend higher education throughout the city had its inception ten years before the University was actually created. Like its forerunner, the present University is fortunate in bearing not the name of any single great benefactor — for such, during its first seventy years, it lacked — but of the city which it serves and adorns; and in this respect it antedates many other insti-

¹ Thanks are due to the following for criticisms and corrections of these pages: Chancellor Charles P. Norton, Dean Willis G. Gregory, Dr. Charles G. Stockton, the late Dr. James A. Gibson, Philip B. Goetz, and Charles E. Rhodes. The author, however, takes responsibility for errors of omission and commission.

tutions which, though younger, have succeeded in heretofore surpassing it in wealth — such as the universities of Rochester, Syracuse, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and universities which bear the names of other cities in this vicinity.

In fact the University of Buffalo is rather an anomaly among educational institutions. For nearly seventy years it was a university in name only, a collection of professional schools with little unifying influence. The wonder is that these schools could have achieved their creditable reputation and accomplished such scholastic results as they have, wholly without the aid of any endowment. No non-sectarian university in the country, so far as is known, has been so peculiarly situated. If this peculiarity connotes a poverty of equipment, it is true only in comparison with other wealthier institutions; if it means a poverty of intellectual resources, there is no possible foundation for such a theory. In fact, the poverty of the institution has been a standing challenge to the best intellects of the city to compensate by their almost gratuitous service for the otherwise unenviable and difficult position of their institution. The university became theirs in a peculiar sense; for never have men of such attainments been so loyal under such discouraging conditions. If this led in some few cases to a feeling of egotistic indispensability, it also bred a sentiment of persistence and energy and quiet determination not to allow a thing so uniquely theirs to perish or even in the slightest to deteriorate.

The motive calling for the creation of each of the departments of the University has been in each case a desire on the part of the professional men of the city to extend opportunities for training in their profession to young men and women of the community. Professional pride was thus the compelling factor in providing these forms of technical education — pride in maintaining the best traditions of

their profession and handing them down intact to the next generation and after that to generations of those yet to come. This pride was of the finest and most unselfish kind, because in each case it entailed a large financial sacrifice on the part of the teachers in these departments.

But underlying and permeating this desire to extend the facilities for professional training has been the realization that the technical departments would not have been truly proficient without the unifying influence which only a department of liberal arts can give. The establishment of professional departments without this solidifying force is like putting up the superstructure before the foundation of the building is made. It is clear—as Huxley, in an address on medical education², once showed—that the university may best co-operate with the medical school by making due provision for those branches of knowledge which lie at the foundation of medicine. He might well have extended this fundamental observation to include the necessity for the university's making proper provision for the study of those branches which lie at the foundation of *all* professional teaching. And so it has been that the teachers in our University's existing departments have been, of all those most enthusiastic for the college of arts, the leaders from the very beginning.

It has been hinted previously that the present institution is not the first university that was contemplated for Buffalo. The speculative craze of 1836 is a well-known episode not only in the life of the city but in the history of the nation; but for several reasons, Buffalo perhaps suffered more in that disastrous year than most other cities of the country. It was then the stepping-stone from East to West. The Erie Canal, recently completed, brought goods and immigrants in large numbers. Guy H. Salisbury, in Volume IV of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications, gives per-

² "Critiques and Addresses," 67.

haps as interesting and complete an account of what that speculative craze meant to the city as can be found. He does not fail to point out the vast designs for the benefit of the city made possible, apparently by the quickly gotten wealth and the sudden failure of these designs by the as sudden loss of that wealth. Three of the more interesting and picturesque projects which he mentions are the Perry monument, which, on paper, towered 100 feet above the pavement of what is now Shelton Square; the great Exchange, which, with a dome 220 feet high, was to occupy the whole block of Clarendon Square opposite the churches of Shelton Square; and lastly, the great Western University, or University of Western New York (the exact designation not being clear), which progressed as far as, if not, indeed, farther than the other ambitious projects, since this institution actually received its charter from the State Legislature.

Mr. Fillmore, in his address at the first Commencement of the present University³, pointed out that during the summer of that disastrous year books were opened and subscriptions made for the Western University, endowing six or seven professorships at \$5,000 each⁴, and twelve or fifteen thousand dollars were also subscribed to the general fund. A building lot was even presented by one of the city's wealthiest men, Judge Walden, near the old barracks. Although Mr. Fillmore does not exactly say so, it seems clear that the name of College Street was bestowed upon that thoroughfare because it was to mark the western boundary of the proposed campus, its other borders being North and Allen streets and Delaware Avenue.

There was nothing wrong with the vision of the men of the '30s; there was nothing wrong with their public spirit; there was nothing wrong even with their common sense.

³ Buffalo Historical Society "Publications," XI, 45.

⁴ Nowadays endowments of professorships require at least \$70,000, and \$90,000 is a more general minimum.

Nobody could foresee the tremendous crash; which nevertheless must have been inevitable, so much so that President Van Buren even called Congress together in extra session in order that, as he said, they might devise a means to save the government itself from bankruptcy.⁵

Mr. Salisbury asks, "Did no good grow out of all this evil? There were, indeed, stately edifices built, innumerable stores, warehouses and 'mammoth' hotels erected, canals dug, railroads projected, ships and steamboats put afloat under the impulses of '36, which remained and were of some use after. But what was gained by this precocity of growth?" In Mr. Salisbury's view, looking at the pecuniary distress and stagnation of business which followed, there was no gain, even remote, and the great university project seemed to have died without hope of resurrection.

But not more than ten years after that sudden calamity it was revived again, and this time permanently. One reason for its revival was the advent during the '30s and '40s of a number of men, mostly physicians, who, notwithstanding Buffalo's subsequent eminence as a medical center, have not yet been surpassed in fame and public regard. Frank H. Hamilton, Austin Flint, James P. White, Thomas M. Foote were among the physicians who first brought prestige to the city, and they, with sympathetic laymen, were the founders of the University of Buffalo. It was the physicians present at the first meeting who, after hot debate, persuaded the other members of the group to attempt not only a medical school, but a university with powers as complete and diversified as those possessed by any in the land. The departments specifically thought of at first were, primarily, the medical, and then the academic,

⁵ "The panic of 1837 desolated every hamlet and brought woe to every home. Want and failure stalked the land. Mills were closed, mortgages foreclosed, whole towns swept off the map, fortunes vanished in a night. Prices became ridiculous, wages were reduced to the starvation point, and profits were the substance of reverie. No subsequent panic wrought such havoc with the great masses of our people as did the crisis of 1837."—S. P. Orth, "Five American Politicians," p. 157.

theological, and law departments. Fortunately, one of the prime movers in the enterprise was at that time a member of the State Assembly, and it was chiefly through the unwearied exertions of Nathan K. Hall that the charter, on May 11, 1846, was granted to the first Council. Other and more ancient universities have likewise been deficient in the organization of these faculties without which, strictly speaking, no university can have a clear title to the term. The example which comes first to mind is Salerno, which, though one of the most famous of medieval universities, never established any other faculty than that of medicine. Paris in its palmy days had no faculty of law. And so Buffalo, with only a medical faculty for forty years, historically considered, is by no means a unique case, though of a kind seldom met in modern times.

A number of years ago a dignitary from another State once paid a visit to Yale College and introduced himself as chancellor of a university whose name was new to his host. "How large a faculty have you?" President Day asked him. "Not any," was the answer. "Have you any library or buildings?" "Not yet." "Any endowment?" "None." "What have you?" the president persisted, and the visitor brightened as he said, "We have a fine charter."⁶ And so, although for forty years the Medical Department comprised all there was of the University, it was known, not as the Buffalo Medical College, but as the University of Buffalo. Nevertheless, although it has possessed full authorization, the institution has always been conservative in availing itself of the generous prerogatives conferred upon it by the Legislature. Only in one or two cases have academic honors been bestowed in departments of learning not already organized.

⁶ D. C. Gilman, "The Launching of a University," 6.

The men and women who have been recipients of degrees from this University number the surprising total of 5,825, divided as follows:

DEGREES CONFERRED, 1846-1917

Doctor of Medicine.....	2,933, including 10 honorary
Graduate in Pharmacy.....	638, including 3 honorary
Bachelor of Pharmacy.....	353
Master of Pharmacy.....	26, including 1 honorary
Doctor of Pharmacy.....	6
Analytical Chemist.....	89
Pharmaceutical Chemist.....	3
Bachelor of Laws.....	710
Master of Laws.....	12
Doctor of Dental Surgery.....	1,043
Bachelor of Pedagogy.....	5
Master of Pedagogy.....	1
Doctor of Pedagogy.....	2
Doctor of Philosophy.....	1
Bachelor of Science.....	1 (honorary)
	<hr/>
	5,825

II. MEN WHO MADE IT.

Like many institutions of those days, the University was first organized as a joint stock corporation and, indeed, continued as such until as recently as 1909, though there is no record of dividends ever having been declared. Naturally, however, the founders did not establish the corporation with any idea in view of financial benefit for themselves. The capital authorized was \$100,000 and the charter provided that \$20,000 of stock should be subscribed within three years, and ten per cent. paid in cash, although the public-spirited physicians did not stop there. During the next year and a half they secured subscriptions from 130 citizens, aggregating \$12,000. With it they bought a site on Main Street on the corner of Virginia, 100 feet by 200, and there erected the first building to be used for

higher education in Buffalo. The older residents will easily recall this unique brown stone building of only two and a half stories, with little spires at each corner, which stood for so many years for all there was to the University of Buffalo. It was dedicated on December 7, 1849.

It would be valuable, merely as a contrast between the business and educational methods of those days and these, to quote in full the charter of the University, but excerpts must here suffice as evidence of the founders' intent. The stockholders were to elect sixteen of their fellow-shareholders as their first Council and it was provided that no one religious sect should have a majority of the board. In addition, each of the several faculties, as they were organized, was to appoint one member to represent it on the Council, and the Mayor of the city was to be also an ex-officio member. The appointment of all University officers was to be made by the Council upon nomination from the several faculties. It is incidentally an evidence of their confidence in the faculties, that no nominations made to it from any department has it ever refused to confirm.

Section VIII defines its academic powers thus: "The University shall grant the students under its charge such diplomas or honorary testimonials as are usually granted by any university, college or seminary of learning in the United States"

The roll of the original Council shows without further mention how admirably the undertaking was supported by the most representative citizens. The office of Chancellor, in those days even more than now an honorary position — practically his only duty being to preside on the Commencement stage — was given very naturally to Millard Fillmore, who held it until his death in 1874, not resigning it during his incumbency as President and consequent absence from the city. Judge George W. Clinton was president of the Council until, upon his election as Regent of

the State University, he removed to Albany in 1856. A tower of strength to the young institution, he never, in Mr. Larned's words,⁷ "in some fine and beautiful qualities of genius and temper, had his peer among our people." Joseph G. Masten, who succeeded Judge Clinton as mayor of the city, was one of the original Council; so was Elbridge G. Spaulding, who acted a part of such importance in the congressional and financial history of the Civil War. George R. Babcock, another of the founders, was characterized by Mr. Putnam as "a man who might easily be taken as a Roman senator in the last days of republican Rome, when none were for the party and all were for the State." Very pleasant is the coincidence that on the site of Mr. Babcock's home should have been erected the building of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, which was the first important gift presented to the University to aid in the foundation of an Arts Department.

Orsamus H. Marshall, the second Chancellor, was also a member of the original Council. A quiet, scholarly man, disliking pretense and publicity, custodian of many estates and adviser of a large clientage, Mr. Marshall is a figure second only to Fillmore in the debt in which he placed Buffalo's earliest institutions. The Historical Society and the Grosvenor Library are notably the institutions to which, as with the University, he was indispensable. Nathan K. Hall rendered concrete services from the very beginning, and later, as a Federal judge and Postmaster-General in his friend Fillmore's Cabinet, he became a figure of national importance. James O. Putnam, deprived by his ill health of the brilliant career awaiting him at the bar, has an honored name in the diplomatic history of the nation as well as in the legislative annals of his own State. Appointed by Lincoln consul at Havre, he subsequently became, in Hayes's administration, Minister to Belgium and

⁷ "History of Buffalo," 197.

during these periods, as at other times, the Council was necessarily deprived of his service. As one of its original members, the historical continuity of his membership, while somewhat broken, none the less covers a long period, since he resigned in 1902, being Chancellor at that time. William A. Bird, surveyor of the boundary line between the United States and Canada; Gaius B. Rich, a banker; Dr. Thomas M. Foote, distinguished in literature as well as in medicine; Ira A. Blossom, Isaac Sherman, Albert H. Tracy—who likewise had a brilliant career in public life, State Senator and Congressman, and who had, Mr. Larned says,⁸ “few peers among our people in sheer intellectual power”; James S. Wadsworth, Theodotus Burwell, John D. Shepard, Hiram A. Tucker, Orson Phelps and Dr. James P. White, the delegate elected by the Medical Faculty, were the other members of that remarkable group.

A complete roll of the Council from its beginning to the present day presents a list of citizens of such varied attainments that it is profitable here to give their names with the dates of their incumbency, but as each of them was added reference will be made to any particular facts justified by his length or his degree of service. Every name on this list is an honored one in the city's annals and no more adequate evidence of the importance, real or potential, of the University to the city can be suggested than by reproducing this roster.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, 1846-1917

Millard Fillmore.....	1846-1874, first Chancellor
George W. Clinton.....	1846-1856, President of the Council
Ira A. Blossom.....	1846-1857
Thomas M. Foote.....	1846-1851
Joseph G. Masten.....	1846-1856*
Isaac Sherman.....	1846-1857*
Gaius B. Rich.....	1846-1857

⁸ “History of Buffalo.” 201.

* Exact dates uncertain.

William A. Bird.....	1846-1853*	
George R. Babcock.....	1846-1876	
Nathan K. Hall.....	1846-1870	
James S. Wadsworth.....	1846-1850	
Theodotus Burwell.....	1846-1857	
John D. Shepard.....	1846-1855	
Hiram A. Tucker.....	1846-1849*	
Orsamus H. Marshall.....	1846-1884,	second Chancellor
Orson Phelps.....	1846-1856	
Elbridge G. Spaulding.....	1846-1897	
James P. White,.....	1846-1882,	from Medical Faculty
James O. Putnam.....	1846-1862, 1877-1902,	fourth Chancellor
Frank H. Hamilton.....	1850-1862	
Austin Flint.....	1850-1862,	Secretary
Jesse Ketchum.....	1850-1868	
James Hollister.....	1850-1886,	Secretary
Orlando Allen.....	1852-1877	
George C. White.....	1855-1860	
Aaron D. Patchin.....	1855-1859	
George Hadley.....	1856-1878,	Secretary
Sanford B. Hunt.....	1857-1870	
John Wilkeson.....	1857-1887	
Albert H. Tracy.....	1857-1860	
Henry W. Rogers.....	1858-1872	
Thomas F. Rochester.....	1860-1887	
Timothy T. Lockwood.....	1863-1870	
George S. Hazard.....	1863-1903	
George E. Hayes.....	1868-1882	
Julius F. Miner.....	1870-1883	
Joseph Warren.....	1870-1876	
James N. Matthews.....	1871-1886,	Secretary
E. Carleton Sprague.....	1877-1895,	third Chancellor
David Gray.....	1877-1886	
James N. Scatcherd.....	1878-1885	
Charles Cary.....	1879-	
Sherman S. Rogers.....	1882-1898	
Edwin T. Evans.....	1885-1906	
George Gorham.....	1885-1905,	sixth (acting) Chancellor
Frank M. Hollister.....	1886-1916,	Secretary
Robert Keating.....	1886-1906	
John C. Graves.....	1886-1891	

* Exact dates uncertain.

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Josiah Jewett.....	1886-1891	
Matthew D. Mann.....	1886-1912,	from Medical Faculty
Frank P. Vandenberg.....	1886-1890,	from Pharmacy Faculty
Richard K. Noye.....	1886-1890*	
Roswell Park.....	1887-1914	
Laurence D. Rumsey.....	1887-1908	
T. Guilford Smith.....	1887-1890	
Wilson S. Bissell.....	1890-1903,	fifth Chancellor
Edmund Hayes.....	1890-1901	
John J. Albright.....	1890-1901	
Willis G. Gregory.....	1890-	, from Pharmacy Faculty
Spencer Clinton.....	1891-1898,	from Law Faculty
William C. Barrett.....	1892-1903,	from Dental Faculty
Bryant B. Glenny.....	1897-1898	from Teachers' College
George H. Lewis.....	1895-1898	
Charles W. Goodyear.....	1898-1906	
Adelbert Moot.....	1898-1912,	from Law Faculty
William H. Hotchkiss.....	1899-1906	
Worthington C. Miner.....	1901-1903	
Henry R. Howland.....	1901-	
George B. Snow.....	1903-1912,	from Dental Faculty
Stephen M. Clement.....	1904-1906	
Louis L. Babcock.....	1904-	
John Lord O'Brian.....	1904-	
John B. Olmsted.....	1904-	
Robert R. Hefford.....	1904-1914	
Charles P. Norton.....	1905-	, seventh Chancellor
Loran L. Lewis, Jr.....	1906-	
Edward Michael.....	1906-	
Carleton Sprague.....	1906-1915	
Arthur D. Bissell.....	1906-1917	
Elgood C. Lufkin.....	1906-1908	
William H. Gratwick.....	1908-	
Andrew V. V. Raymond.....	1908-	
Herbert U. Williams.....	1912-1915,	from Medical Faculty
Daniel H. Squire.....	1912-	, from Dental Faculty
Carlos C. Alden.....	1912-	, from Law Faculty
Philip Becker Goetz.....	1914-	, Secretary, 1916-
Peter W. Van Peyma.....	1914-1917,	from Medical Alumni
Thomas H. McKee.....	1915-	, from Medical Faculty
Walter P. Cooke.....	1916-	

* Exact dates uncertain.

III. PHASES OF GROWTH.

The year 1846 happened to mark the most important single event in the history of American medicine, for it was on October 16th of that year that there took place the first demonstration of the possibility of alleviating pain during surgical operations. Hence when on October 16, 1896, Dr. Roswell Park, professor of surgery, delivered at the University an address commemorative of the event,⁹ it took on also the character of a memorial of the University's semi-centennial and linked the destiny of the Medical Department with the progress of American medicine in a happy and significant manner.

No time was lost by the Council in establishing the Faculty of Medicine, which, on August 25, 1846, was done by the appointment of the following professors:

Charles Brodhead Coventry, M. D., professor of physiology and medical jurisprudence.

Charles Alfred Lee, M. D., professor of pathology and materia medica.

James Webster, M. D., professor of general and special anatomy.

James P. White, M. D., professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children.

Frank Hastings Hamilton, M. D., professor of principles and practice of surgery and clinical surgery.

Austin Flint, M. D., professor of principles and practice of medicine and clinical medicine.

George Hadley, M. D., professor of chemistry and pharmacy.

Corydon La Ford, M. D., demonstrator of anatomy, and librarian.

Drs. Coventry, Hadley, Webster, Lee and Hamilton also held chairs in the Geneva Medical College, an institution which had an honorable career for a number of years, but

⁹ Park, "The Evil Eye," 351-380.

on account of its location in a small town could not successfully compete with schools in such centers of population as Albany and Buffalo; and in 1872 the Geneva College became the Medical Department of Syracuse University. It had been established in 1834 by a faculty largely augmented by the retiring professors of the defunct Fairfield Medical School, chartered in 1812.¹⁰ The sessions at Geneva being held in the early part of the winter, the majority of the Buffalo Faculty could not assume their duties until later, so that for several years lecturers were giving the same course twice in the same winter at different institutions. Naturally the question of accommodating students came next after the election of a Faculty, and for the first few sessions, lacking a building of its own, the College held its lectures in the old First Baptist Church at the corner of Washington and Seneca streets.

In the words of Chancellor Fillmore at the first Commencement, the building was "fitted up at considerable expense for the purpose, and the first annual course of lectures commenced by this distinguished body of professors on the first Wednesday of February last, which term is now about to close. The whole number of students attending has been 72, 17 of whom will receive their diplomas as Doctors of Medicine today. These are the first fruits of this literary and scientific vineyard, and I trust they are only samples of a more abundant harvest that is to be annually gathered hereafter. If at the beginning any doubted the success of this enterprise, or thought the attempt premature, enough has now been done to dispel every doubt and allay every apprehension. For never within our knowledge has any medical college opened with so large a class of students and closed its first year under such flattering auspices."¹¹

¹⁰ Syracuse University Catalogue.

¹¹ Buffalo Historical Society "Publications," XI, 47.

Mr. Fillmore's position regarding the financial status of an institution of learning, while probably no different nor on any higher plane than that of most men of his day, seems to us of the present to be at least curious. Apparently no endowment was thought of for the institution. The idea seems to have been that it could go on permanently with no income other than students' fees. As to the source of equipment, Mr. Fillmore seems to have calmly forgotten that any very large equipment was necessary, although he does not deny that "some assistance may be required to raise the requisite funds to buy the land and erect suitable buildings. But this accomplished," he asks rather naïvely, "Why should not an institution of this kind sustain itself? If professors feel that their compensation depends upon the number of students they instruct, they will endeavor to acquit themselves in such a manner as to increase the number; and if they are not able to attract a sufficient number to afford an adequate compensation, then I maintain that that is evidence of one of two things; either the professor is incompetent and should, therefore, quit his vocation, or is not wanted and therefore should not be employed. It resolves itself into a want of capacity to instruct, or a want of pupils to be instructed. Neither of these can be remedied by State bounty or testamentary endowments. The Medical Department has thus far been continuing on the plan that the fee from the students is the only reward for the professor; and I am happy to add, with every prospect of success." 12

He forgot this much, however: the possibility that in their desire to increase the student enrollment and hence their own compensation, the professors might let down the bars of scholastic requirements and discipline and so lead to speedy deterioration. Happily, the Medical Depart-

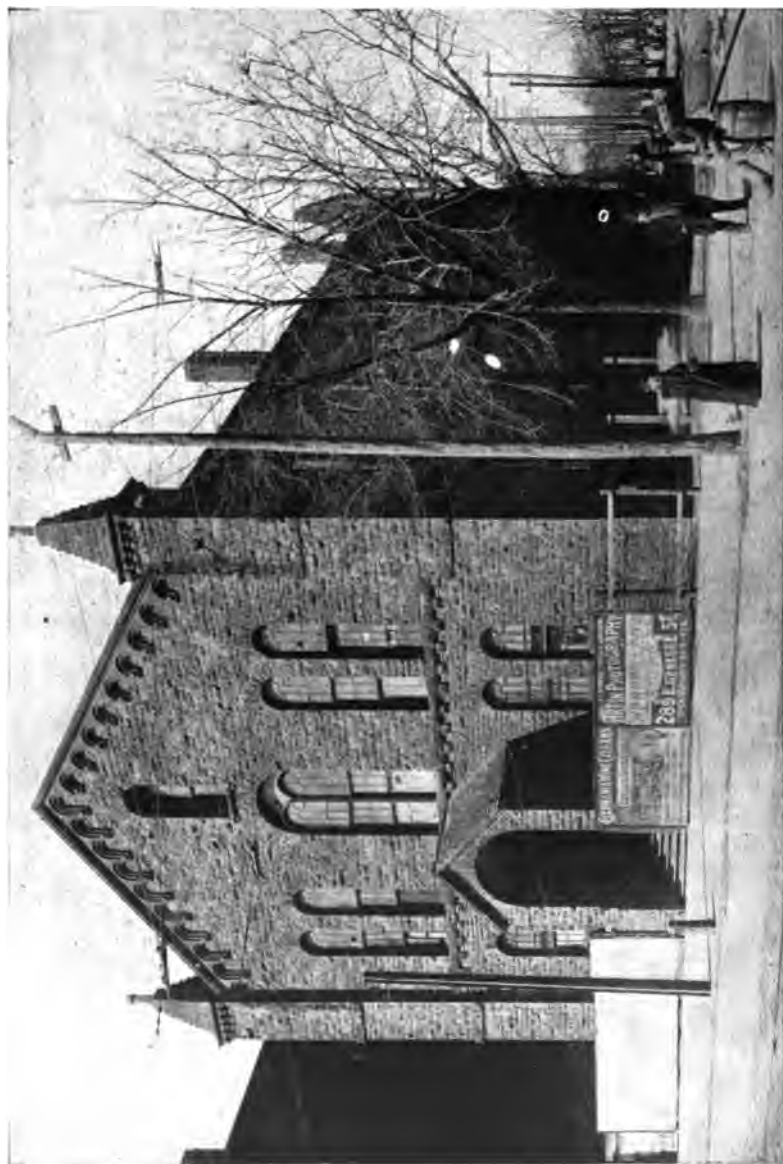
12 *Ibid.*, 48.

ment, together with the other professional schools, has never been confronted with this possibility and for no other reason, of course, than the high-minded devotion of their Faculties.

At the very beginning the same sort of argument for an academic department which for the subsequent seventy years was so persistently voiced was heard in no uncertain terms from the Chancellor and in very much the same tones to which the city has echoed ever since. The potency of the arguments may be realized, together with their applicability to the conditions of seventy years ago, as well as to those of today, by quoting the closing paragraph of the Chancellor's address of 1847:¹³

This department being thoroughly and rightly established, I hope next to see the academic department organized, and at the earliest possible moment; and why should we despair of this? The time has come when such an institution is indispensable to the wants and honor of our city. I appeal to every father who has a son to educate. Why should he be compelled to send that son to some eastern village or distant city to give him a liberal education? Can it be that this proud Queen City of the Lakes, into whose lap is poured the commercial wealth of eight states, cannot maintain a single college! Are our crowded wharves and glutted warehouses mere mockeries of wealth? No — our numerous and costly temples for religious worship not only attest our piety and devotion, but show what the enterprise and noble generosity of Buffalo can accomplish when its sympathies and energies are enlisted in a good cause. Then let me appeal to you on behalf of the University of Buffalo, your own darling child, bearing your own name, and stretching out its arms for your support. Will you see it perish, or will you step forward with true paternal feelings, and minister to its wants, and raise it from despondency to hope, from weakness to power, and from childhood to manhood? If you will, be assured that you will establish an institution eminently useful to yourselves, which will become the pride and ornament of our city, and for which you will receive the grateful thanks and fervent blessings of unborn millions.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 49.



SECOND BUILDING, BUFFALO MEDICAL COLLEGE, MAIN AND VIRGINIA STREETS.

Built 1849-50; torn down 1890. First building erected in Buffalo for collegiate instruction.

Unfortunately, the first minute-book of the Council, containing a record of the action taken by that body from 1846 to 1855, has been lost, so that practically the only events occurring during those years which are of certain knowledge are to be found in newspaper reports. The Council held, for many years, only annual meetings, the chief purport of which was to confer degrees upon the graduating classes.

It would be interesting to know the details of the erection of the first college building, but there is an excellent description of the building, together with the work of the college at that time, in the *Commercial Advertiser* of September 18, 1849. The remarks that are there recorded concerning the building indicate that it was excellently adapted to the needs of medical education of those days, and particular comment is made upon the dissecting room, which, in spaciousness and adaptation to its objects, was regarded as unsurpassed in the whole country. This, despite the fact that the total cost of building and site probably did not equal the sum of \$25,000. The location was a favorable one, giving the College of those days something of the facilities for clinical teaching which the present college building enjoys. Adjacent to the building, on Pearl Place, was the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, presenting the best opportunities in the city for clinical instruction.

It is quite remarkable that the seven men who constituted the original Faculty all remained in active occupancy of their chairs for the first five years. Thus the plans and the policy of the College were well crystallized and a foundation laid for its continuance and progressive existence for seventy years, during which time it has numbered among its professors many of the men of whom American medicine is proudest. The following list includes the names, with years of access and exit, of those who have held chairs in the permanent (or, as it was later called, the

executive) Faculty from 1846 to 1915. In that year a far-reaching reorganization of the entire teaching methods took place, with many changes in the system of instruction and administration.¹⁴ It was accordingly a new era of the College which began in that year (1915), although the changes which took place were not so much in personnel as in methods.

<i>Access</i>	<i>Exit</i>
1846 James P. White, Obstetrics.....	1881
1846 George Hadley, Chemistry and Pharmacy.....	1851
1846 Charles B. Coventry, Physiology.....	1851
1846 Charles A. Lee, Materia Medica.....	1870
1846 James Webster, Anatomy.....	1851
1846 Frank H. Hamilton, Surgery.....	1860
1846 Austin Flint, Principles and Practice of Medicine.....	1859
1851 James Hadley, Chemistry and Toxicology.....	1878
1851 John C. Dalton, Physiology.....	1855
1851 Benjamin B. Palmer, Anatomy.....	1853
1852 Edward M. Moore, Surgery.....	1882
1853 Thomas F. Rochester, Principles and Practice of Medicine.....	1887
1857 Sanford B. Hunt, Anatomy.....	1858
1857 Theophilus Mack, Materia Medica.....	1860
1859 Sanford Eastman, Anatomy.....	1870
1859 Austin Flint, Jr., Physiology.....	1860
1860 Joshua R. Lothrop, Materia Medica.....	1864
1861 William H. Mason, Physiology.....	1886
1867 Julius F. Miner, Special Surgery.....	1882
1870 Milton G. Potter, Anatomy.....	1877
1870 S. M. Eastman, Materia Medica.....	1873
1873 E. V. Stoddard, Materia Medica.....	1888
1878 Charles A. Doremus, Chemistry and Toxicology.....	1881
1878 Charles Cary, Anatomy.....	1889
1882 Matthew D. Mann, Obstetrics.....	1912
1882 B. A. Witthaus, Chemistry and Toxicology.....	1889
1883 Roswell Park, Surgery.....	1914
1886 Julius Pohlman, Physiology.....	1889
1887 Charles G. Stockton, Principles and Practice of Medicine.....	—
1889 Charles Cary, Materia Medica.....	1899

¹⁴ See page 74.

1889 Charles Cary, Clinical Medicine.....	1911
1890 John Parmenter, Anatomy.....	1904
1890 Herbert M. Hill, Chemistry and Toxicology.....	1910
1899 Eli H. Long, Materia Medica and Therapeutics.....	1912
1900 Frederick C. Busch, Physiology.....	1912
1904 Herbert U. Williams, Bacteriology and Pathology.....	—
1905 James A. Gibson, Anatomy.....	1917
1910 Francis C. Goldsborough, Obstetrics.....	—
1912 DeWitt H. Sherman, Materia Medica.....	—
1912 Frederick H. Pratt, Physiology.....	—

Of several of these the length of their incumbency has been quite remarkable. Dr. White served for thirty-five years; Dr. Thomas F. Rochester for thirty-four; Dr. Moore for thirty; Dr. Park (who succeeded Dr. Moore) for thirty-one; Dr. Cary was in the service of the College for thirty-two years; Dr. Mann for twenty-eight years; Dr. Stockton has occupied his chair for thirty years.

IV. NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS.

Academic history is, naturally, made without a great deal of publicity; and so the record of an institution of learning is very largely a record of routine work. The early years saw few, if any, additions to the Faculty and few important accessions to the Council. Before the meeting of 1856, however, two men had been elected to the Council and thus broadened their interest in popular education to include an intelligent interest in the facilities for higher training. These two men were Jesse Ketchum and Orlando Allen. Probably no citizen of Buffalo, certainly none of the earlier days, did more as a private citizen for the city's schools than Mr. Ketchum, who crowned his life-long interest by presenting most of the site for the present splendid Normal School. Mr. Allen's term of membership on the Council extended for about fifteen years, during which time he rarely missed a meeting.

The Medical Department has been distinguished in respect to its advanced methods of teaching in two important directions. As early as the fourth session Dr. James P. White, for the first time in this country, introduced clinical midwifery into the college curriculum. This method had been previously established in Europe, but its introduction in America caused very severe criticism. So bitter and pointed an attack was made upon Dr. White in the newspapers, as to lead to a suit for libel, the result of which was the acquittal of the defendant; but the trial served to vindicate Dr. White and his method of teaching. Dr. John C. Dalton, Jr., who was elected to the chair of physiology in 1851, was the first physiologist in America to employ the method of experiment on living animals in his teaching.

Dr. Austin Flint, during his incumbency as professor of medicine, made his noted observations upon typhoid fever. His study of the epidemic in North Boston, N. Y., in 1843, contributed greatly toward recognition of the nature, source and means of conveyance of the infection of this disease. Dr. Julius F. Miner, professor of special surgery, in 1869 became noted through his advocacy of enucleation of ovarian tumors, a method which has been universally adopted. Of the other members of the Faculty Dr. Hamilton achieved a national reputation as surgeon, teacher and writer; Dr. Ford became one of the most noted anatomists in the country, holding for many years, until his comparatively recent death at an old age, a professorship at the University of Michigan; Lee, Webster, and Coventry all helped to make the first Faculty a group distinguished for intellect, one which reflected honor on the city which called them.

As time went on these men came to be assisted by younger practitioners whom they had trained, and the fact that such physicians as M. B. Folwell, D. W. Harrington

and William C. Phelps were members of the staff without holding chairs on the permanent Faculty does not, of course, free the historian from neglecting to mention their teaching abilities or their aid to the young College.

In the matter of improving medical education, the College has been in the front rank in enlarging its curriculum and adding to its corps of teachers. It was one of the first institutions to favor a separation of the teaching and licensing authority. While the proposition failed of adoption at the time, it placed the College upon record and it remained for one of its alumni and teachers, Dr. H. R. Hopkins, aided by Professor M. D. Mann and Dr. A. R. Davidson, also an alumnus, to urge and secure in 1883 the formulation of a bill by the Medical Society of the County of Erie, which, after due consideration by the State Medical Society, was presented to the Legislature and, after repeated defeats and amendments, finally became a law in 1890, creating licensing bodies that should be absolutely separate and distinct from the teaching faculties.

Beginning with 1856, the Council meetings assumed more importance and interest than the merely routine work of their previous gatherings. In that year it suffered the loss of Judge Clinton, his place being taken by Dr. George Hadley. Mr. Marshall succeeded to the position of president of the Council made vacant by Mr. Clinton's resignation, which meant his taking the place of Mr. Fillmore whenever the latter could not represent the University, leading naturally to his election as Mr. Fillmore's successor.

Several important changes took place in the Faculty, Austin Flint being elected to a new chair, that of clinical medicine and pathology, taking the place of Dr. Lee. Dr. Edward M. Moore of Rochester also assumed the duties of a new chair, being designated professor of surgical anatomy and pathology. A third new chair was created by the election of Dr. Sanford B. Hunt as professor of descriptive

anatomy and pathology. In February of the next year, 1857, Dr. Rochester began his first service as dean, with Dr. Hadley as registrar of the College, a combination which continued to lend strength and dignity until 1861, when Dr. Sanford Eastman became dean. Meanwhile several changes were occurring in the membership of the Council, the most important of which was perhaps the death of Dr. Thomas M. Foote and the election as his successor of Henry W. Rogers, of the legal firm which has had perhaps more historical continuity of weight and importance than any other in Buffalo. This firm has also been bound up intimately with the fortunes of the University, members of it serving either on the Council or in the Faculty of the Law Department. During the years when the firm name was Rogers, Locke & Milburn, the junior partner helped to establish the Buffalo Law School and taught there for many years, where his name is held as high as a teacher as it is throughout the country as a practitioner. In addition to Mr. Rogers and John G. Milburn, Franklin D. Locke, while never actively connected with the University, was on several occasions of great service to it in a legal capacity.

The next important change in the Medical Faculty occurred in 1859, when Dr. Hunt resigned his chair, which was divided, Dr. Eastman being made professor of anatomy and Dr. Austin Flint, Jr., professor of physiology. The latter, however, served for only one year, joining his father in New York, where the elder had already begun to build the international fame which awaited him. During these years the graduating classes had been of about the same size, running generally from twenty to thirty men. As the sessions became longer and the work more arduous, the students naturally tended to become fewer, with a corresponding increase in quality.

In 1855, fifteen degrees were conferred; in 1856, only seven, two of which were honorary; in 1857, fourteen; in



UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, MEDICAL FACULTY, 1861.

DR. HADLEY,	DR. ROCHESTER,	DR. MASON,	
DR. WHITE	DR. MOORE,	DR. EASTMAN,	DR. LEE.

1858, nine; in 1859, twelve, beginning with which year the graduating classes commenced a satisfactory and generally consistent increase in numbers. The last honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred in 1879 upon Charles A. Doremus, who had entered the Faculty not as a practicing physician but as professor of chemistry. The degree of M. D., as an honorary distinction, has been but infrequently granted by Buffalo, as by all American universities, which have generally preferred to honor physicians of prestige by giving them a degree which they did not already possess, such as Doctor of Science or Doctor of Laws. Yale honored Dr. Park with the LL. D. degree. The same honor has been conferred on several present members of the faculties, Charles B. Wheeler having received it from Williams and John Lord O'Brian from Hobart.

V. EXPANDING ACTIVITIES.

The first active effort to bring to a realization the fervid argument of Millard Fillmore for the addition of an academic department seems not to have been begun until 1862, when two committees of the Council were appointed to consider and report upon the creation of departments of law and of liberal arts. Here is a further example of Buffalo's refusal to allow the stress and strain of civil war to interfere with projects for her intellectual advancement. Evidently, however, though the war did not interfere with the foundation of several institutions, it was decided that the time was not propitious for the expansion of the University. The reports of these two committees apparently were made orally, since there is no evidence of their having been recorded; but the idea of University expansion was in the air and received repeated impetus from then on. In 1868 the addition of a dental department was discussed for the first time and the first step actually taken, since it was determined to leave the organization of a college of

dentistry to the Medical Faculty, where it rested for so many years that it was thought to have sunk to its final repose.

In 1867 Dr. Julius F. Miner was elected professor of special surgery and three years later was made dean, succeeding Dr. James Hadley, who had been promoted from registrar to dean in 1867, but returned to his old position in 1870. Dr. Miner served as dean until 1875, when Dr. Milton G. Potter succeeded to the office. In 1877 Dr. Thomas F. Rochester, who to his commanding personality joined the sureness of diagnosis and the rare knowledge and skill in practice which gave him a dominating position among Buffalo's medical men, was again made dean of the Faculty as he had been dean of his profession since Dr. White's death, serving until his decease in 1887. Dr. Rochester belongs perhaps to the second generation of the Faculty, the first comprising the founders, White, Flint, Hamilton, Hadley, and the third, men like Park, Stockton (still teaching), Cary, and Mann. Happily the fourth "generation," worthy successors of their forerunners, are actively teaching, and uphold and transmit intact the old ideals.

Both James Hadley and Potter died in 1878, a loss doubly severe, necessitating a partial reorganization of the Faculty. After a short interval Dr. Hadley was succeeded as secretary of the Faculty by Charles Cary, who thus began, in 1879, a service in many capacities. The same year he began his teaching as professor of anatomy, but in 1889 changed his chair to that of materia medica, adding that of clinical medicine. In 1899 he gave up the chair of materia medica but continued as professor of clinical medicine until 1911, when he was made professor emeritus—a service in active teaching totalling thirty-two years. The Council also elected him to membership in 1879, a connection which he has ever since retained, and for many

years during the thirty-seven of his membership he has been the senior member, the only one to note the expansion of the University as each of the other five departments was added.

Nothing in the University's charter had prevented the entrance of women students, but no woman was graduated until 1876, when the degree was conferred upon Dr. Mary B. Moody, now of Los Angeles, California, who has retained a lively interest in her alma mater despite the years and the distance which separate her.

In 1877 the Council suffered several severe losses by death; but the places of those who died, George R. Babcock, Orlando Allen, and Joseph Warren, were filled by three men, two of whom, Messrs. Sprague and Putnam, subsequently became Chancellors of the University; and the third was David Gray, whose fame Buffalo cherishes as editor and poet.

During the two decades from 1870 to 1890 the scope and method of medical education were so changed by the rapid progress in medical science as to require extension of the college course from two years of five months each to three years of six months each. The birth and development of the science of bacteriology, the need of more practical training in pathology and chemistry, and of a more accurate knowledge of anatomy and histology, all demanded largely increased facilities not only in material equipment but in teaching.

During the eight years from 1882 to 1890 the governing Faculty of the Medical Department was completely changed, not one chair being occupied in 1890 by the incumbent of nine years before. Six new men had been called to Faculty positions and one had been transferred to another chair. During this time also occurred an enlargement of the teaching staff by the appointment of adjunct, associate and clinical professors, with assistants

and instructors in the laboratory and recitation courses. A Spring course was in operation during the years 1884 to 1893. It consisted of eight weeks of supplementary and special instruction given largely by the members of the adjunct Faculty. It was regarded as an excellent feature but was superseded by lengthening the regular session to seven months and shortly thereafter to nine months for each of the four years.

The first of these changes in the teaching staff brought Matthew D. Mann, M. A., M. D., into the Faculty as professor of obstetrics, beginning a connection which, as professor and later as dean, was to give the institution the impress of an executive ability and a rapidly increasing reputation as surgeon and author, which did not terminate with his resignation in 1911, for he has continued as professor emeritus. He became secretary of the Faculty in 1882 and was made dean in 1887. In 1882 another addition was made in giving the chair of chemistry to Rudolph A. Witthaus, M. A., M. D., of New York, taking the place of Dr. Doremus, who was called to New York. Dr. Witthaus died in 1916, having achieved a national reputation.

If the Faculty was strengthened by these two appointments it was immeasurably weakened by the death in 1881 of Dr. James P. White, the last of the founders, a tower of strength for decades to his University and his city. His place in the Council was taken by Sherman S. Rogers. In the same year Dr. Rochester was made Vice-Chancellor of the University, an office purely honorary on account of the assiduity and devotion of Mr. Marshall. The next year the chair of surgery was made vacant through the retirement of that Nestor of surgeons and unequalled teacher, Edward M. Moore, and the disability of his brilliant colleague, Julius F. Miner. In the words of Dr. Stockton,¹⁵ "to find an adequate successor of these men started a canvass of

¹⁵ Park, "Selected Papers," p. XI.

America, for only one having the topmost qualifications could hope to fill the gap. An appeal to Chicago by Dr. Rochester brought the assurance from Professor Moses Gunn that Roswell Park stood out as the one whose ability would satisfy every need"; and so in June, 1883, he was called from Rush Medical College to become professor of surgery. "His advent in Buffalo was opportune; it was a transitional period from old to new concepts in pathology at the threshold of modern surgery. Together with Mann he re-educated the local medical profession and advanced immeasurably through his sound pathology, novel teaching, operative skill and spreading fame, the reputation of the Medical School."

By those outside the Faculty Dr. Park's appointment was not greeted with particular satisfaction. The *Buffalo Medical Journal*, which was founded in the same year as the University by one of the founders of the latter, Austin Flint, at this time was somewhat unfriendly to the Medical Department, being termed the unofficial organ of the rival institution, the Medical Department of Niagara University; while the so-called organ of the University of Buffalo was the *Medical Press of Western New York*, edited by Dr. Park with a staff consisting principally of members of the Faculty. An editorial in the *Buffalo Medical Journal* for August, 1883, states that "Professor Moore's resignation is a loss to the profession of this city as well as to the College. It is but fair to say of him that he is recognized as the ablest professor of surgery in this country. . . . We learn that Dr. Roswell Park of Chicago has been appointed . . . in the place thus vacated. We fail to ascertain, after repeated inquiries in surgical circles, that the new appointee brings to this responsible position any extensive experience or reputation." There was much more in this strain, but it was not long before the "rival" journal recognized in Dr. Park a man with whom it was hard to be an

enemy, but who, if antagonized, was an indomitable fighter. Happily the *Buffalo Medical Journal* soon changed its attitude toward the College, and for many years, especially under the editorship of Dr. A. L. Benedict, has shown most helpful friendliness.

In 1884 the University suffered the loss by death of its Chancellor, Mr. Marshall, who for thirty-eight years, ten of them as Chancellor, had been assiduous in his devotion. He was succeeded by E. Carleton Sprague. With 1886 a new era was ushered in, which may perhaps be summed up by saying that that year marked the first real step toward changing the institution from a medical school to a real university. The Council had been rejuvenated and the new blood added this year was contributed by such interested and enthusiastic men as Robert Keating, John C. Graves, Josiah Jewett and Frank M. Hollister, the latter of whom took his father's place and was promptly elected secretary, retaining that position for thirty years, until his death.

If, however, at the beginning of that year one had remarked that the University was about to expand and prosper as never before, he would have been derided as a false prophet. There was even discouragement among those responsible for the government of the University as it then existed. This is shown by the fact that the visit of the president of Cornell University, Charles K. Adams, as the Commencement speaker suggested to some the desirability of asking Cornell to take over the local medical school as its department of medicine. The *Buffalo Courier* on April 8, 1886, published an editorial, written by one of the Buffalo Faculty, in which among other things it was remarked that "attention has already been called to how much the Medical Faculty have done for Buffalo and how little Buffalo has done for them. . . . We should note with feelings of congratulation that Cornell has ab-

sorbed that which Buffalo has failed to erect — its hypothetical University — and has honored itself by uniting with itself a most meritorious professional school." This does not mean, as it might seem to do, that the Medical School no longer commanded the loyal support of its Faculty. Pessimism existed only so far as University expansion was concerned. The existence of the Medical School was assured and the desire was to place it on a firmer foundation by merging it with a university of large endowment. The question of affiliating one or more of the professional departments with Cornell came up later in connection with the Law School, but both problems were solved without their having reached a very definite stage of negotiation.

It was at this same Commencement meeting of the Council that a committee was appointed to investigate the feasibility of creating a law department. This committee was composed of Messrs. Sprague, Putnam, Gorham and Drs. Mann and Cary from the Council, together with Messrs. Ansley Wilcox and the late James F. Gluck from the Erie County Bar. The report of this committee indicated that for two reasons the project had best be postponed, the first being the difficulty of finding a man of the proper legal attainments who would give up the time necessary to organize the school; and the second being the possibility, though no longer the probability, of the creation by Cornell of its law school in Buffalo. Curiously enough, however, this adverse decision did not prevent the establishment in 1887, the same year in which this report was made to the Council, of the Buffalo Law School, which immediately became affiliated with Niagara University and remained the law department of that institution until 1891, when it became the Department of Law of the University of Buffalo.

VI. DEPARTMENTAL DEVELOPMENT.

The College of Pharmacy.

Conditions were more favorable for the addition of the second department of the University, the College of Pharmacy, and on March 8, 1886, the Council authorized this addition with little debate or discussion. No college of pharmacy was at that time in existence nearer to Buffalo than Cincinnati and the pharmacists of the community had long been insistent that the evident need for training in this subject should be supplied in connection with the work of the Medical School. After Dr. F. P. Vandenberg, adjunct professor of chemistry in the Medical Department, had, upon its invitation, addressed to the Council a memorial upon the advisability of establishing the new department, the Pharmaceutical Faculty was immediately created with the following incumbents: R. A. Witthaus, M.A., M.D., professor of pharmaceutical chemistry and toxicology; E. V. Stoddard, M. A., M. D., professor of materia medica; Willis G. Gregory, M. D., Ph. G., professor of pharmacy and director of the pharmaceutical laboratory; D. S. Kellicott, Ph. D., professor of microscopy; F. P. Vandenberg, B. S., M. D., professor of general and analytical chemistry. Professor Kellicott was chosen dean of the Faculty, being succeeded after two years by Dr. Stoddard, and in 1890 by Dr. Gregory, who is still [1917] dean and professor of pharmacy.

Several Faculty changes occurred during the first five years. After two years Professor Kellicott resigned his chair, having been called to the Ohio State University, and was succeeded by the late Ernest Wende, B. S., M. D. In 1889 Professor Stoddard and Professor Witthaus resigned their positions and the instruction in chemistry was then entirely given to the existing chair occupied by Professor Vandenberg. Dr. Stoddard was succeeded by Eli H. Long, M. D., and at the same time the chair of pharmacog-

nosity was added with John R. Gray, M. D., as the incumbent. Dr. Gray retired in 1912, being succeeded by Frank E. Lock, M. D., Phar. M., who served until 1916. In 1890 Professor Vandenberg resigned the chair of chemistry and was succeeded by Herbert M. Hill, Ph. D., now city chemist. Albert P. Sy, Ph. D., succeeded Dr. Hill as head of the chemistry department in both the Pharmacy and Medical Schools in 1910.

The Faculty of Pharmacy has seen very few changes in the thirty years of its existence. Dean Gregory has said that during his connection with the College (beginning with its establishment) he has been able to recall but one or two instances where any procedure taken by the Faculty has not been unanimously taken, indicating a unity of purpose and harmony of action rare in academic circles and possible only in small bodies. Laboratory teaching has been a prominent feature in the work of the College from the beginning, about half the instruction being of this practical nature. During the first five and one-half years the sessions were held in the Medical Department's old building, but this structure soon became inadequate not only for the Medical but for the Pharmacy Department, and upon the completion of the High Street building, the College of Pharmacy was therein given abundant facilities for every branch of instruction. The first session opened September 20, 1886, with thirty-eight students enrolled. Chancellor Sprague presided at the opening exercises, which were attended by the Mayor and many other dignitaries, the address of the day being delivered by Clay W. Holmes of Elmira, secretary of the State Pharmaceutical Association. His address was on "The Nobility of Pharmacy as a Profession," which proved to be an interesting outline of pharmaceutical history, closing by drawing a sharp distinction between the mere druggist and the trained, scholarly pharmacist, for whom adequate facili-

ties were now available for the first time in this part of the country.

The new College, for the time being, was placed on the same financial basis as the Medical School, Mr. Fillmore's ideas on this point still being accepted — more because there was in Buffalo no other practical basis to maintain a college than because they were approved. This method did not always work out to the benefit of the Faculty, as those hostile to the institution were fond of alleging. As one professor put it: "When there is any money left over, it is divided among the Faculty; when there is a deficit, that is divided too. Last year (*i. e.*, 1884-5) repairs and improvements costing \$3,500 were made, which came from the pockets of the seven men of the Executive Faculty."

The only degree conferred by the College up to 1897 was that of Graduate in Pharmacy, but in 1895 a departure was made by the establishment of an advanced course of study which should lead to the degree of Master of Pharmacy. This was designed for the benefit of students of ability who desired to devote their whole time to study, instead of combining college attendance with daily work in a pharmacy. In addition to these two degrees that of Pharmaceutical Chemist is conferred, also for post-graduate work, of one year.

It was the Faculty of Pharmacy which first offered instruction in a course most of the subjects in which are generally counted in other institutions towards the degree of B. S., and hence in a way this Faculty anticipated the establishment of the Arts Department. Necessarily, most of the studies in the Pharmacy Department (especially those in the Ph. G. course, of only two years) are of a special nature, fitting the student for the immediate practice of his profession, but in the three-year course leading to the degree of Analytical Chemist, which was established in 1906, the added year makes possible the inclusion of a

number of subjects which broaden the student culturally. French, German, geology, physics and others are the subjects which, together with a large amount of the different kinds of chemistry and allied courses, make possible some comparison of this A. C. degree with the B. S. of other scientific institutions. Training in professional schools is not all narrow, just as more than half of the subjects pursued at West Point have no exclusive bearing on the soldier's profession.

In 1916-17 the Faculty of Pharmacy was constituted as follows: Willis G. Gregory, M. D., Ph. G., dean and professor of pharmacy; Albert P. Sy, M. S., Ph. D., professor of chemistry; Eli H. Long, M. D., professor of toxicology, and recording secretary; Richard F. Morgan, Ph. G., Phar. D., professor of microscopy; Willis G. Hickman, professor of pharmaceutical jurisprudence; Asa B. Lemon, Phar. D., professor of materia medica and instructor in the pharmaceutical laboratory; Lee W. Miller, Ph. G., instructor in commercial pharmacy; Ray M. Stanley, Ph. G., LL. B., instructor in commercial pharmacy; Ernest G. Merritt, M. S., instructor in physics.

The Analytical Chemistry Faculty in 1916-17 was as follows: Willis G. Gregory, M. D., Ph. G., dean; Albert P. Sy, M. S., Ph. D., professor of chemistry and German; Richard F. Morgan, Ph. G., Phar. D., professor of mineralogy and lithology; William V. Irons, Ph. D., assistant professor of chemistry; P. Frederick Piper, B. S., professor of geology; William F. Jacobs, M. D., professor of bacteriology; Ernest G. Merritt, M. S., professor of physics; Alfred Rothmann, professor of French; A. H. Hopkins, B. A., instructor in mechanical drawing.

As has been indicated, the first committee to report on the feasibility of creating a department of liberal arts was appointed by the Council in 1862. It was twenty-five years later before the matter was again formally considered. In

1859 the University charter had been amended to permit the establishment of a preparatory department, "a school for the academic instruction of young men preparatory to a collegiate education, and to provide therein, or in its academic department when founded, or both, for instruction in practical mechanical science, mining, engineering and in the science of teaching." When the Council appointed a committee to consider whether or not it should take advantage of this provision, the same committee was directed to report on the more important creation of a collegiate department. The proposition before the committee proved to be one to transfer a local commercial school of good reputation and prospects into a department of liberal arts under the University charter, and until endowment was secured, to use the rooms and equipment of the school. In December, 1888, the committee reported its findings, without making any recommendations, and was delegated to continue its investigation. Mr. Putnam seemed to voice the opinions of the Council by saying that while professional schools might exist on students' fees, he did not think it practicable to establish a full fledged academic department with no better prospects in view. The committee was finally dissolved in March, 1889.

Department of Veterinary Medicine.

The next department of the University to be established was one which, although formally organized, never carried on any instruction and the Faculty named have all passed away. The existing Faculties had appointed a committee to report to the Council upon the creation of a department of veterinary medicine and at a meeting in July, 1887, the committee submitted its recommendations. For some years there was an independent veterinary school in Buffalo which had lapsed, owing to financial difficulties, but the interest remained and the veterinarians of the city

united to convince the Council of the demand for expert training. The Faculty, as suggested in the petition, was to consist of Drs. Park, Pohlman (who was named dean), Stoddard, and Vandenberg, with the assistance of practicing veterinarians and physicians. The Council confirmed these nominations, but financial difficulties attending efforts to secure subscriptions for a suitable building made necessary the abandonment of the department.

At the same meeting, July 28, 1887, which created the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Dr. Park and Laurence D. Rumsey were elected to the Council, beginning a membership in that body of twenty-seven and twenty-one years respectively. They took the places of the late Dr. Rochester and David Gray. T. Guilford Smith was also elected to succeed John Wilkeson. In the Medical Faculty the Council confirmed the nomination of Charles G. Stockton as professor of the theory and practice of medicine, the chair filled so long by Dr. Rochester. Dr. Stockton had been professor of materia medica and therapeutics in Niagara University, one of the members of whose Faculty, while congratulating the University on the change, rather vitiated his felicitations by adding, "The only regret I have is that he has got into such bad company."

Dr. Stockton is now the senior in point of actual teaching service in the Medical Faculty, to which his reputation and ability as teacher and author are an invaluable asset.

The New Medical Building.

During all these years the work of the University was rendered less effective than the quality of the teaching could warrant, by the increasingly inadequate facilities of the old building. The Virginia-street structure was in 1889 fifty years old. Built in days when medical instruction necessitated but a few months for satisfactory completion, it now accommodated not only medical students spend-

ing a three-year course in the building, but a rapidly growing number of pharmacy students as well.

Dr. Park brought the material needs of the College to the attention of the public in a vivid way. Without ostentation he let it become known that he had received and was considering an urgent and attractive invitation to return to Chicago, there to occupy what Chicago friends termed "the finest place in America today"—the chair of surgery at Rush Medical College. There seemed but one means of keeping him in Buffalo — by proving to him that the public would appreciate his declination of the call to the extent of erecting a new building for the University. This implied condition put the issue squarely. From the beginning the Council was enthusiastic. At the annual meeting of 1889 Dr. Park, speaking for the Faculty, reminded the Councilors of recent gifts of from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 made to medical schools in other cities. The Buffalo school, he knew, was as worthy as any of these and its needs were greater. He suggested that the present college property be sold and a new lot bought on which a better and larger building might be erected — a building providing for the growth which he farsightedly prophesied. He also spoke at some length of the devotion of the Faculty and of the various claims of the College to a generous public support.

Dr. Mann earnestly seconded Dr. Park's appeal. Describing the cramped and inconvenient quarters at the College, with the disheartening lack of facilities, he especially emphasized the need for greater accommodation for clinical instruction. Vice-Chancellor Putnam, who presided, said that he considered the request laid before the Council eminently just and proper and one to which a liberal public should respond, and he desired to know definitely whether the people of Buffalo cared seriously to cultivate anything higher than its material interests. Mr.

Keating moved that a committee of three be appointed to report on the sale of the present grounds and the purchase of a new lot, and Dr. Park, Mr. Gorham, and Mr. Keating were appointed.

On the east side of Main Street, at what is now the corner of High Street, stood for many years the only dwelling house now in existence with which Joseph Ellicott is directly associated. In 1823 he had begun the erection of this home with the idea of giving it on its completion to his niece. He died, however, before it was completed and it was inhabited for many years by Colonel Guy H. Goodrich. The house originally stood in large grounds, covering the entire block between what are now High and Goodrich streets, but in the course of time these grounds were cut up into lots and sold, until the whole mansion was hemmed in by modern dwellings, except on the High-street side. The building was moved to Amherst Street in the nineties and considerably enlarged.¹⁶ This was the land which the Council of the University decided to purchase and utilize as the site for the new medical building.

The amount paid for the land was \$22,275, probably a fair figure in those days but certainly an excellent bargain in view of the increased valuation of real estate since then. There were many arguments in favor of this location, the chief of which, of course, besides its central situation, was its proximity to the Buffalo General Hospital, which has always provided most of the clinical facilities of the College. George Cary was the architect engaged for the new building; and the price named was not to exceed \$125,000.

A college building used for many different purposes must satisfy such varying requirements and tastes that a great many men have to be consulted in order to avoid almost unanimous criticism. Several meetings of the full Medical Faculty, numbering at that time a total of over thirty,

¹⁶ Buffalo Historical Society "Publications," XVI, 313.

were held for the purpose of furnishing the building committee with the requirements of their respective departments, which data were then given to the architect.

An extensive description of this building, so familiar to all Buffalonians and to the medical profession in this part of the country, is here unnecessary, but the final architect's plans called for a building with an irregular front of 215 feet, 98 feet on the west side and 78 feet on the east side, occupying in all a surface of 12,000 square feet. The greater part of the building is of fire-proof construction, the rest of so-called slow-burning construction. The design was to supply the building with rooms of varying character, and the main amphitheatre, which, on account of the contributions of the graduates towards equipping and furnishing it, was named Alumni Hall, has a seating capacity of 400. Two other lecture-rooms have a slightly smaller capacity, while other recitation and lecture rooms are of varying size. The entire building contains no plaster, no partitions other than brick, and the only wood employed is oak. The money for the erection of the building and the purchase of the lot was raised for the greater part by popular subscription, the only important single contribution being a legacy of \$20,000 from the late Honorable Jonathan Scoville. Franklin D. Locke drew Mr. Scoville's will and at the time urged him to make a bequest to the Medical College, which was not then done. When he prepared a codicil, however, he asked Mr. Locke to ascertain the exact corporate name of the Medical College. He was answered that it was the University of Buffalo. He replied by wire that he wished the name of the "Medical College on Virginia Street." Mr. Locke wired in reply that it had been given correctly and admitted that he was as surprised as Mr. Scoville to learn that the Medical College was not an independent institution. It took so many years for the University idea to make headway over the idea of a cluster

of independent schools. The old building and its site were sold for \$67,750 to the Buffalo Catholic Institute and this money was devoted toward the erection of the new building.

The Department of Law.

The successful undertaking of the new building gave added encouragement to those who believed that the University should be enlarged to meet the needs of as many professions as would support an enlarged institution, and within a few months of each other, Colleges of Law and Dentistry were added. The Buffalo Law School, founded in 1887, had been affiliated for a time with Niagara University but now desired to change its connection, and at a meeting of the Faculty held on May 18, 1891, those present, Messrs. Charles Daniels, dean and professor of constitutional law; LeRoy Parker, vice-dean and professor of the law of contracts and municipal law; George S. Wardwell, professor of the law of torts; Carl T. Chester, professor of the laws of marriage and divorce and special proceedings; Charles Beckwith, professor of equity jurisprudence; George Clinton, professor of maritime law and admiralty; Tracy C. Becker, professor of criminal law and procedure and medical jurisprudence; and Adelbert Moot, professor of the law of evidence, petitioned the Council to admit the Buffalo Law School as a part of the University. The request was granted without delay and Spencer Clinton was at the next meeting elected to represent the Law Faculty in the Council. The teachers who had previously served in the Buffalo Law School were all confirmed in their former chairs as the new professors of the Law Department and the Faculty was finally constituted to include those who had signed the request for affiliation (mentioned above) together with Albion W. Tourgee, professor of legal ethics; James Fraser Gluck, professor of the law of corporations; John G. Milburn, professor of the theory of law codes and codifica-

tions; Charles P. Norton, registrar and professor of the law and practice of civil actions; and E. Corning Townsend, secretary-treasurer and professor of the law of domestic relations.

The organizers of the School believed that instruction in law could best be given by lawyers who were engaged in the active practice of their profession. Says Mr. Norton in his history of the Buffalo Law School published in *The Green Bag*, October, 1889: "The alliance between the courts and the Bar on one hand and the School on the other, was the closer because the School instructors were chosen from the four hundred members of the judiciary and Bar of Buffalo. The Law School was in fact the enterprise of the Buffalo Bar, in the interest of the more thorough and effective training of its own future members. Five judges who were holding courts almost daily became members of its faculty. Attorneys who had won reputation as specialists in various branches gladly gave their time and their services to it. The members of the Bar who were not actively engaged in the Law School offered places in their offices and the benefit of an older lawyer's supervision of study to every student who would come." In this respect the Law Department occupied an unusual position among the schools of the country, as the instruction thus secured is eminently legal and above all, practical. The School so organized and carried on continues to be impressed with the character of its founders.

The first quarters, in 1887, of the Buffalo Law School were located in the old Niagara University building on Ellicott Street, behind the Public Library. During the second year the work was carried on in the lecture rooms of the Library. From the Library building, next to which was then the courthouse with its splendid law library and four courts of general jurisdiction, the School moved to the southwest corner of Pearl and Church Streets. When the

Ellicott Square building was opened in 1896, the Department, which had been steadily increasing in size, was moved to the ninth floor of that building, where it remained until the end of the school year of 1913, when it was transferred to the third and fourth floors of the former Third National Bank building, thus still remaining in proximity to the City and County Hall and the City Court building, which constitute the laboratories of the law student. After all these peregrinations, the School is finally making at this time (1917) a concerted effort to find permanent quarters. The nucleus of a building fund has been secured by subscription among its alumni and the attorneys of the city and the purchase of a location on Eagle Street directly opposite the City Hall is being actively projected. The School moved into the building in the fall of 1917.

In arranging the studies of the School and completing the scheme of organization, the founders were singularly fortunate in being guided by men of great practical sagacity and unusual administrative skill. Foremost among them was the Hon. Charles Daniels, LL. D., for many years judge of the Eighth Judicial District, who in spite of his many judicial duties always made time for his class-room work. This he permitted nothing to interrupt and even used to adjourn court to hold lectures. Death removed the honored dean in 1897. Pending the selection of a successor, Mr. Moot until 1901 served as dean, he being the only member of the original Faculty who still gives instruction. Finally the services of Christopher G. Tiedeman, LL. D., were secured as dean and lecturer on elementary law, constitutional law, negotiable instruments, and the law of real property. He was a legal author of international reputation and his connection with the School promised greatly for its future, but he was permitted to serve its interests for only two years, because of his untimely death, which occurred in August, 1903. Again Mr. Moot became acting

dean and served until 1904, when Dr. Carlos C. Alden, for many years a member of the Law Faculty of New York University, and later counsel to Governor Hughes, was appointed to the office, and he has served as head of the Department since that time. The judgment of those responsible for his selection has been amply confirmed, for he has had most noteworthy success as teacher and lecturer as well as in practice. Under his administration the School extended its course from two to three years.

Those who have filled the position of registrar have also contributed very largely to the success of the School. Charles P. Norton, now Chancellor, was the first to fill this position, and his connection with the Department continued for many years. E. Corning Townsend, Alfred L. Becker, and George D. Crofts, who is the present incumbent, were Mr. Norton's successors. Among his other services to the School, Mr. Crofts has given much time and attention to the building up and classification of the library, which has become a very valuable one. Over \$1,000 is spent each year for its increase and maintenance, the money being secured by a payment of \$10 from each student. It was purchased in the first instance by a fund given by thirty-six of the most prominent lawyers and business men of the city.

The Faculty in 1916-17 was composed of the following: Carlos C. Alden, LL. M., J. D., dean, and lecturer on elementary law, the law of property equity, practice and pleading; Hon. Adelbert Moot, LL. B., lecturer on the law of evidence; Hon. Charles B. Wheeler, B. A., LL. B., LL. D., lecturer on the law of corporations; Loran L. Lewis, M. A., LL. B., lecturer on the law of liens; Hon. John Lord O'Brian, B. A., LL. B., LL. D., lecturer on the law of insurance; Fred D. Corey, LL. B., lecturer on public service corporations; Hon. Clinton T. Horton, B. A., LL. B., lecturer on law of negotiable instruments; Hon. George B.

Burd, LL. B., lecturer on constitutional law. In addition there are fifteen lecturers.

The College of Dentistry.

The addition of the Law Department preceded the creation of the Department of Dentistry by only a few months, and on May 30, 1892, on the motion of Dr. Park, who had been active in the matter from the beginning, such a department was established with the following as the first Faculty: William C. Barrett, Alfred P. Southwick, Herbert A. Birdsall, and Franklin E. Howard. These gentlemen subsequently elected to their number George B. Snow. A statement prepared by Chancellor Sprague explained the steps leading up to this action, stating that for years the University had had this step in contemplation in order that its medical instruction might be complete in all its branches.

With the completion of the new building on High Street the obstacles preventing the addition of the Dental College were removed, since the architect was especially instructed to include space for such a school, and, continued the Chancellor in his report to the Council, "The western wing of the building will, therefore, be devoted to the wants of a complete dental school." For the first session of the Dental Department there were forty-six matriculates and the graduating class numbered five. One change in the permanent Faculty occurred early in the first session. Professor H. A. Birdsall, the youngest member and a man of great promise, died in December, 1892. He was succeeded by Dr. Eli H. Long, who is still on the Faculty. The classes grew very rapidly in size from year to year and the necessity for an adequately equipped dental school in this region was clearly demonstrated. The growth was regarded as phenomenal. Beginning with a class of forty-six in the first session, four years later saw a registration of 222, and

ten years later the enrollment reached 261. Such a rapid growth proved that the School must soon have a building designed and furnished especially to meet its own needs. Accordingly, plans were soon developed which led to the erection of a three-story building on Goodrich Street, adjoining the High-street property. This building, also designed by George Cary, was erected in 1896 at a cost of \$36,000, and was first occupied during 1896-97, this being the fifth session of the College. Even this building was soon taxed to its capacity to accommodate the growing School, so that it became necessary in 1902 to add a fourth story. This done, the building stands today as one of the first in the country in point of equipment and adaptation to the needs of dental instruction.

It was recognized from the beginning that a large part of the credit for the wise planning and efficient organization, which constituted the foundation of the College's success, was due to the first dean, Dr. Barrett, who died in 1903, having held the position of dean since the inception of the College. Another distinct contribution to its early success was the service rendered by Dr. Alfred P. Southwick, who held the position of secretary and treasurer until the time of his death, in 1898. Dr. Barrett was succeeded as dean by Dr. George B. Snow, who served in that capacity for nine years, a period which saw constant enlargement and development. In 1912 Dr. Daniel H. Squire, a graduate in the first class to receive degrees, who had served as vice-dean during 1910 and 1911, became dean. The present head, with his associates, has been markedly successful not only in raising the scholastic standing of the College but in inculcating such mutual cordiality between the Faculty and students as to result in a very healthy growth of college and university spirit. Indeed, the Dental College is often the first to inaugurate and carry on the various projects tending to bring the University before the public in an

advantageous light, and to provide a natural outlet for the display of undergraduate activities.

In 1914 the College sustained the loss, on account of removal to New York, of Dr. Leuman M. Waugh, who had been very successful as professor of special pathology. Columbia University made him a member of its first Dental Faculty. The Governing Faculty of Dentistry in 1916-17 comprised: Eli H. Long, M. D., professor of materia medica and therapeutics; Daniel H. Squire, D. D. S., dean of the Faculty and professor of operative dentistry; Charles K. Buell, D. D. S., secretary-treasurer and professor of crown and bridge work and dental ceramics; Abram Hoffman, D. D. S., registrar and professor of prosthetic dentistry and orthodontia. In addition there were five other professors, fourteen lecturers, and a clinical staff of nineteen.

Beginning with the session of 1917-18 the course of dental instruction was increased from three to four years.

Teachers' College.

Five departments of the University had now been authorized, each of which, with the exception of that of veterinary medicine, was fully justifying the hope of its founders. The success of the next addition should not be adjudged by the length of time during which it was in existence. No department of the University has had more loyal students and graduates than the Teachers' College, and without exception they have remained anxious for its revival.

The purpose of the new school was, of course, in no sense to duplicate the work of the normal schools, particularly the excellent work done by the Buffalo State Normal School, but to continue and develop the work they so ably begin. One of the important functions of the normal schools is to engender a thirst for a more exhaustive study of pedagogy than they themselves can satisfy. The Teachers' College was designed to meet the need thus

aroused, and the most important agency which it brought to bear was the control of a practice school where the theories propounded in the classroom received searching laboratory tests of their worth.

In the year of the establishment of the College there was but one other university in this country provided with a well-equipped practice school. The school controlled by the College, which has been known for many years as the Franklin School, was and is well organized and fully equipped. Dr. Frank M. McMurry added to his duties as a member of the Pedagogical Faculty those of principal of the Model School. In February, 1895, Dr. Stockton was invited to explain to the Council the details of the proposed School of Pedagogy, the result of which meeting was to convince the Councilors of the desirability of adding such a department. It was some months before the details were finally worked out, but in April, 1895, the application of those interested was formally presented by the late Bryant B. Glenny and the petition granted, Mr. Glenny being elected a member of the Council to represent the new Department. William A. Rogers was chosen president of the board of trustees; William H. Gratwick, vice-president; William A. Douglas, secretary, and P. H. Griffin, treasurer. Much effort was expended on the careful consideration of those who should form the first Faculty. That the choices finally made were worthy is shown by the way in which all of them, without exception, have subsequently distinguished themselves. Frank M. McMurry, Ph. D., came from the University of Illinois to become dean and professor of pedagogics. On leaving Buffalo he was called to Teachers' College, Columbia University, where he has continued his remarkable career as one of the foremost educators in the country. Herbert Gardiner Lord, M. A., was made professor of philosophy, and also was called later to Columbia in the same capacity; in April, 1917, he was

made acting dean of Columbia College. Professor Lord was one of the prime movers in the College, and its success was very largely due to his enthusiasm, his personal charm, and his unusual ability as lecturer and teacher. His mind Buffalonians found to be of the quality that elucidates the most abstruse subjects in such a way that those never before confronted by even the simplest problems of philosophy could not but be attracted, and having been attracted, led to pursue further and further the intricacies of the subject. Michael V. O'Shea, who was called to be professor of psychology and child study, has been, since leaving Buffalo, the distinguished professor of education at the University of Wisconsin. Woods Hutchinson, M. A., M. D., was professor of science. The late Ida C. Bender, M. D., was instructor in primary education; James W. Putnam, M. D., professor of neurology in the Medical Department, was lecturer on physiological psychology, and Natalie Mankell, M. D., at present instructor in mechanical therapeutics in the Medical Department, was instructor in gymnastics.

For two years the Teachers' College was accommodated in the lecture rooms of the Public Library. The last year of its existence was spent in the Real Estate Exchange, and it used during its three years the school building on Park Street as the Model School. In the last year of the College's existence Francis G. Blair, LL. D., became principal of the Franklin School; he is now State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois.

The hopes of the trustees and Faculty of the new College were more than justified by the results achieved during its lifetime. The attendance was much larger than had been anticipated. The first year 94 students were enrolled; the second year, 159, such a large proportion of whom were graduates of colleges or normal schools as to show them to be of enough maturity to allow a thorough study of educa-

tional problems. The College granted only eight degrees in all, five of which were that of Bachelor, one of Master, and two of Doctor of Pedagogy. The curriculum of the College embraced, more completely in the University than at any other time up to 1913, many of the subjects taught in a college of liberal arts; hence the financial failure of the enterprise brought grief not only to those interested in pedagogical education, but to the faithful few who were still working for the establishment of an arts department.

At a meeting of the Council on January 28, 1898, the critical financial condition of the College was discussed, Mr. Glenný stating that it could not continue beyond the current year without permanent endowment. He mentioned the death of George Howard Lewis, a member of the Council, as a serious blow to its projects. Professor McMurry agreed with Mr. Glenný that a permanent endowment was indispensable, but the Council could foresee no likelihood of such generosity on the part of any of its friends, and so it reluctantly acquiesced in the judgment of those responsible for the maintenance of the College, and passed the motion that it be discontinued. Charles W. Goodyear was elected a member of the Council to succeed Mr. Lewis.

Gratwick Cancer Laboratory.

A second project even more important to the city than the Teachers' College — because its usefulness was not confined to the city — had only a little longer connection with the University than the Teachers' College, but in its larger life is still doing immeasurable good. That its work is carried on with unassuming quietness and self-effacement does not blind the public — whence its support comes — to its merit.

In 1898, there was secured from the New York Legislature the first appropriation ever made from public funds,

either in this country or abroad, for the purpose of combating the ravages of cancer. This money was appropriated to the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, largely through the efforts of the late Dr. Roswell Park and the late Edward H. Butler. Professor Park became director of the Laboratory, with Dr. H. R. Gaylord as pathologist, G. H. A. Clowes, Ph.D., as biological chemist, and Professor H. G. Matzinger as bacteriologist. For the first three years the work was carried on in the College building, but in 1901, through the generosity of Mrs. W. H. Gratwick and other friends of scientific research, the Gratwick Laboratory was erected — the first in the world built, equipped, and intended for this purpose. Dr. Gaylord was made director and the work considerably expanded. The third stage was reached in 1911, when Dr. Park, with the co-operation of Senators Hill, Loomis and Burd and of Assemblyman LaReau, and with the constant aid of John Lord O'Brian, Ansley Wilcox, and others, succeeded in raising the laboratory to the dignity of a State institution. A number of citizens contributed toward the purchase of the property, which was donated to the State to be utilized as the site for a hospital, adjoining the Gratwick Laboratory on High Street. The building represents an outlay on the part of the State of \$140,000, the land being valued at \$21,000.¹⁷

The new hospital was dedicated on November 1, 1913, with exercises held in Alumni Hall of the medical building. Addresses were made by Dr. Park, chairman of the board of trustees, Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, one of the trustees, and Dr. James Ewing, professor of pathology at the Cornell Medical School.

¹⁷ *Buffalo Express*, November 2, 1913.

Amalgamation with Niagara University.

The Medical Department of Niagara University has been mentioned previously in this sketch, and the fact should perhaps have been brought out that since 1883 the University of Buffalo had been stimulated to greater efforts in its medical instruction by the active presence of another school, including in its Faculty a considerable number of the city's most prominent practitioners and ablest teachers. In many ways indeed, particularly in its higher entrance requirements, the school had pressed hard on the heels of the older institution. The friendly rivalry was undoubtedly as much of a help to both as of a detriment, but it gradually came to be realized that there was an unnecessary duplication of energy. Dr. Floyd S. Crego of the Niagara Faculty and Dr. Stockton of the Buffalo Faculty were those who conceived and helped most energetically to bring about the union. In 1898, when the student enrollment at Niagara was only 40, the time had come for amalgamation. Most of the members of the Niagara Faculty were received into the associate Faculty of the other, and among the important accessions thus made were: the late Herman Mynter, professor of clinical surgery; Earl P. Lothrop, adjunct clinical professor of obstetrics; Henry C. Buswell, adjunct professor of principles and practice of medicine; the late Eugene A. Smith, adjunct professor of clinical surgery; W. Scott Renner, clinical professor of laryngology; Floyd S. Crego, professor of neurology; Alfred E. Diehl, adjunct clinical professor of dermatology; the late Carlton C. Frederick, clinical professor of gynecology, and the late Walter D. Greene, clinical professor of genito-urinary diseases. Of the above, Doctors Buswell, Renner and Diehl are still members of the Faculty.

This is perhaps an appropriate place to speak of the growth of the Medical Alumni Association, with which medical graduates of Niagara now become identified. The

constitution of the association specifies that all graduates automatically become members at the time of graduation. In January, 1875, under the leadership of the loyal younger alumni, Edward N. Brush, '74; Alfred H. Briggs, '71; Henry R. Hopkins, '67; and Peter W. Van Peyma, '72, the association was formally organized and held its forty-second annual meeting during the Commencement week of 1917. Niagara University had conferred the M. D. degree on 137 of its graduates, most of whom have since 1898 been actively identified with the University of Buffalo Alumni Association. This spirit of harmony goes to show the Niagarans' approval of the amalgamation, the chief advantage of which was to place at the disposal of one school all of the available clinical material of the city.

VII. THE LAST PHASE.

I.

With the year 1902 we enter upon a more detailed consideration of the steps leading up to the operation of the Department of Liberal Arts. The outstanding dates in this concluding chapter of our story include 1902, which saw the election as Chancellor of Wilson S. Bissell; 1904, when a staff of lecturers was appointed to establish university extension work by means of lectures in the subjects in which they were proficient; 1905, when Charles P. Norton was elected Vice-Chancellor, with the expectation that he would give generously of his time and indefatigable energy to arouse sentiment for an Arts Department; 1909, when this sentiment first crystallized into action by purchasing a site for the Greater University; 1913, when a very modest beginning of work in the arts and sciences was actually made; 1915, when the courses tentatively established were given a home of their own through the generosity of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, which wisely conditioned its gift by necessitating the Uni-

versity's raising \$100,000 as a first step towards endowment; and lastly, 1916, when this condition was complied with, with so much more added that it put the University permanently upon a satisfactory financial foundation.

On October 10, 1902, Mr. Putnam resigned the office of Chancellor, together with his membership in the Council which he had held for so many years of devoted service, and on April 25 of the next year he died. Wilson S. Bissell was chosen his successor and George Gorham was made Vice-Chancellor, but after he had held office for only a year, Mr. Bissell's untimely death at the age of 56 cut off his masterful influence which promised so much in the direction of University enlargement. As Postmaster General in Mr. Cleveland's second Cabinet, he had shown himself possessed of unusual abilities as executive and organizer, and these he was preparing to bring to bear on the problems confronting him in the University. Following his death, Mr. Gorham served as acting Chancellor until the election of Mr. Norton as Vice-Chancellor on April 10, 1905.

Those were years of alternate hope and disappointment, years when the faithful few met constantly with such indifference as to have effectually disheartened any group less devoted. And it was indifference, of course, much more than actual opposition—though there was some of that—which it was hardest to face. Old prejudices and unreasonable suspicions were revived by those who, for various motives, were working against university enlargement. It was alleged that the Medical College—which had for so long, like nearly all the others in this country, been a proprietary school—was inefficient and existed only for the sake of adding to the incomes of the few men in the permanent Faculty. For many years much was made of this point; yet for years the American Medical Association has ranked the school in Class A. No criticism

is easier to make than that of educational institutions. The foundation of such criticism need not rest on a very firm substratum of fact for it to be taken up and added to by disgruntled former students and instructors, who contribute their "inside" knowledge of conditions. Generally the importance and number of this class are in inverse proportion to the noise they make. The rest of the active opposition was supplied both by those who considered that the city was sufficiently provided with educational facilities; and to a lesser degree by those who considered that there were already enough colleges in the country and in this vicinity without the addition of still another, with resulting duplication of energies. In this class were ranged a few of the graduates of the older, wealthier universities quite out of touch with the longing for higher opportunities among Buffalo's high-school boys, who cannot afford to go away to colleges, however near at hand they may be. Gradually, however, these men came to realize that every large city must have an opportunity of completely educating the sons and daughters of its families at home. It is certainly well for the American family to maintain an integrity as complete as possible and covering as long a time as is expedient. The sons and daughters go away from the early hearthstone soon enough through the force of necessity.

Let us not be blind to the advantages which may accrue to some students when thrown upon their own resources away from home, but the universities will go henceforth where the people and the pupils are to be found. The people and the pupils are now, for better or for worse, in the cities. Herein lies our weakness. Hundreds of students are compelled to seek their college training away from home. They leave their cities at their most impressionable age of budding civic consciousness. The city loses touch with the students whom it has fostered during ten or twelve years. Absence from it for the next four years dulls the

edge of city appreciation. While the city is recalled for some sentimental reason, its civic possibility and duty do not loom large in the imagination and affection of the student. Absence does not make the civic heart grow fonder. The problems of his city do not constitute his problems. These students have lost in that asset in which most Buffalonians have never been over distinguished — civic pride. From the years of eighteen to twenty-two the civic appetite has not been whetted.

The second great argument used to convince the doubters has been the Americanizing influence of Buffalo's University. To Buffalo, more than to many other American cities, have come thousands of Germans, Italians, Poles, Russians, Hungarians — all ready to be moulded to high and great national ends, or debased to bad ones, according as there develop the noble traits of these nations, or there remain the bitter dregs of bad traits evolved in the struggle for national existence. To rise to better things — as many of them deserve — than the mere labor of their hands, these foreigners need leaders of their own race. The Polish and the Italian colonies of Buffalo, numbering respectively about 90,000 and 40,000, offer a vast field for educational work, especially along lines of medicine and hygiene. Much sickness can be prevented by right living, and their physicians are the greatest factors in this educational work. They have the confidence of their people. Knowing the causes, they can best offer remedies. They are active not only in their medical work, but are taking leading parts in the social and intellectual life of their people. They are best fitted to be, and are, their natural leaders.

Especially significant is the enrollment in the Arts Department of students either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. In 1915-16, 13% of the regular students were Italian; 6% Polish. All of them with but two exceptions stood among the first tenth of the student body in scholar-

ship. They have a definite purpose in coming to college, from which none of the side issues of college life can deflect them. To them classroom work is both vocation and avocation. Italians, especially, will form a large proportion of the membership in the future Buffalo Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Thus, in brief, run some of the arguments used for ten years—for it took that amount of time to debate the subject. To test the bridge and to see whether it was solid enough to bear the weight of the heavy freight cars which would some day be sent over it, a pilot-engine was first dispatched. It made several trips, all highly successful, which made it apparent that if the foundations were strengthened the structure could bear considerably more weight. In that sense, if in no other, the ensuing experiment of the lectureships was valuable.

II.

The lectureships, naturally, were established to fill in the gap until a full-fledged Arts College could be established. They had their origin with a letter to Dr. Park written March 12, 1904, by Professor James McGiffert of Troy, a friend of his, who offered to endow a chair of English literature in the University provided the Council named as its incumbent the Rev. F. Hyatt Smith, M. A. Of the latter's ability Mr. McGiffert thought highly, so much so that he proposed to establish the chair for Mr. Smith by an annual payment, suggesting that he would make the endowment permanent when the plan had proved feasible. On September 12, 1904, the Council accepted the offer and Mr. Smith was authorized immediately to begin his lecture course. Originally a mere makeshift, designed to preserve and crystallize the sentiment that was being gradually aroused for an arts department, this professorship, the first endowed chair in the University's history, no

doubt would have gone much beyond its original conception, so gratifying was the favor accorded it. The classes met twice a week in the Y. M. C. A. building. Beginning with an enrollment of 26, the registration soon reached 50. The elasticity and informality of the methods used, coupled with the fact that never before had teachers of the city had an opportunity to secure college lectures of the kind, account for their success. Extension lectures in other subjects were soon added. Lewis Stockton gave a course on government; Harlow C. Curtiss, on American history; and Herbert P. Bissell, on German literature. The scholarly attainments of such men as these were appreciated, and their association with the University project gave impetus to the campaign now set on foot as a direct result of their successful courses. The committee in charge was empowered to add to its number a group representing the local alumni of various universities. From that step originated the interest of a little group of University Club members (Rev. Dr. A. V. V. Raymond, Principal Frank S. Fosdick, Principal Daniel Upton, Richard H. Templeton, and Harvey D. Blakeslee, Jr.) who unostentatiously accomplished a vast amount of preliminary work in anticipation of a city-wide campaign. From that amalgamation also dates the active co-operation of such men as the late J. N. Larned and John Lord O'Brian, the latter of whom was elected to the Council on May 3, 1904. On May 27, 1905, Mr. Larned, at a meeting of the Associated College Alumni at the University Club, delivered a notable address on "The University Extension Movement," which put the demand which he voiced for a college of liberal arts on the highest plane — greater than that of civic pride or of financial advantage — the need of supplying an answer to his question: "Now, what is there — aside from the moral strength that may be native in him — what is there that will best protect a young man from those narrowing and hardening tendencies in our

competitive organization of life? What will do most to withhold him from the sordid and selfish careers that make useless and mischievous citizens? What will do most to keep social and civic and patriotic and altruistic feeling alive in him? Why, assuredly, it is a full-fed mind, left with no leanness or scantness in its growth. Assuredly it is an early armoring of the man with fine tastes, high thoughts, large views — too fine, too high, too large to be reconcilable with an ignoble course in life. That, as I conceive it, is what liberal education — liberal culture — means for our democracy. It holds the vitalizing leaven of an influence which democracy can spare no more than it can spare the elementary under-culture of its common schools.”¹⁸

On this same high plane the college campaign was waged for the next twelve years, with accumulating success as the people came to realize (as the people always will if the future of their sons and daughters is put up to them without frills or side-issues) the truth of the educational situation outlined to them. All this time, lending concrete expression to the campaign, the lectures in English literature continued to be well attended up to the last class, on June 1, 1906. In May of that year the guarantor of the endowment suffered a financial loss which necessitated the abandonment of the project.

While this blow to their hopes was naturally severe, those behind the movement did not let it discourage them for long, and indeed it showed how general was the feeling that had already been aroused. Stimulated by the fear that what had been accomplished might be lost, several groups of men and women came to the rescue in proportion as their abilities and resources permitted. Some of the professors in the Medical College, Drs. Gibson, Busch, Bentz, and Hill, in lieu of a direct gift of money offered

¹⁸ Buffalo Historical Society "Publications," XIX, 87.

their services as teachers in those branches which are taught in a department of arts as well as of medicine. The Buffalo City Federation of Women's Clubs showed its confidence in the outcome of the campaign by pledging itself to raise a scholarship of \$2,000 for a college which did not yet exist; and finally a group of teachers in the various high schools offered their help in making an actual beginning of the College, proposing to use temporary quarters in the Y. M. C. A. building. They offered their services as practically volunteer instructors, and it is interesting to note that several of those who thus pledged their help — Messrs. Goetz, Casassa, Rhodes, and Piper — subsequently became members of the College Faculty, while still retaining their positions in their high schools. The petition was signed by the following: F. Hyatt Smith, chairman; P. Frederick Piper, secretary; Principal Frederick A. Vogt; Frederick C. Busch, M. D.; Frank H. Coffran; Jay E. Stagg; G. E. Fuhrmann; Charles E. Rhodes; Philip B. Goetz; Principal Frank S. Fosdick; Herbert U. Williams, M. D.; Felix A. Casassa, and M. A. G. Meads.

This generous offer, however, did not meet with acceptance. It was felt that the future prospects were too uncertain to permit the proposed committee to matriculate students for a four-year course with no more adequate accommodations in view than the old (not the present) Y. M. C. A. building. But now dawned at last upon the Council the prospect of being able to secure the site which was the first necessity for the permanent existence of the College of Arts and Sciences. In February, 1907, Vice-Chancellor Norton reported the possibility of the removal of the county almshouse into the country. He suggested that no finer location could be secured which would adequately allow for the future expansion of the University. At first it was suggested that the University propose a trade, that it should provide a farm which could be offered

to the Supervisors as a fair exchange. But no farm was available for such a purpose: none of the University's friends seemed to have a few hundred acres lying fallow, and consideration was narrowed to sites either within or very close to the city limits.

III.

The almshouse property is partly within and partly outside the city, but much the larger portion, about 92 out of the 106 acres secured, was county property. Accordingly, the Board of Supervisors was the first body consulted. By this time the advocates of the Greater University had united on the desirability of the almshouse site. At the beginning there had been some who, favoring a site nearer the heart of the city, mentioned park property near the Albright Art Gallery and the prospective home of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences. This site, with its proximity to two great agencies of instruction and culture, had the obvious advantage of correlating civic institutions, but was deemed too small for all the buildings of a great university.

The 106 acres, on which have stood for about sixty years the county almshouse and its annexes, comprise the highest ground in the city. From the top of the stone quarry included in the site, one can view, out over the west, a striking combination of city and country. The busy Niagara Falls Boulevard joins Main Street where the University property begins, and beyond the city line, still bounding the campus, Main Street becomes the Williamsville road. On the eastern side, the Bailey-avenue street-cars also run to the city line, adding to the accessibility of the site. There fewer houses have been built, and the ground is uneven, but one of the natural features of the campus is an attractive pond toward the eastern boundary, fed by natural springs.

In deeding away such a property the Supervisors were putting in trust a rich legacy. It was not altogether an ordinary commercial transaction. Property thus situated has been estimated by dealers, at the time of the sale, to be worth between \$2,000 and \$3,000 an acre, so that the University came into possession, for the sum of \$54,300, of land certainly worth between \$200,000 and \$300,000. Seldom can elected officials afford to be philanthropists, but it was purely a consideration of the purposes to which the land was to be put that actuated the Supervisors in placing it at that figure. The name of Asher B. Emery, chairman of the Board, is signed to the deed, and it was fortunate that one of the members of the University Club committee on the Greater University, Mr. Blakeslee, should be also a member of the Board. The preliminary payment, of \$5,000, on the purchase was made by a legacy from the late E. Carleton Sprague, former Chancellor. The balance of the price was raised altogether in small amounts, no one subscription being over \$1,000. While larger amounts would not, probably, have been declined, the endeavor was rather to impress the need of the proposed College on the great mass of average, middle-class people for whose children it was peculiarly designed. Impressively they reacted. Numerous subscriptions of one dollar and even less testified to the widespread interest.

The day when the requisite amount was reported to the Council as having been all raised, marked a personal compliment for Mr. Norton which his months of unremitting labor for the purchase had richly earned him. At the Commencement exercises of 1909, Adelbert Moot, the speaker of the day, told of the Council meeting the same morning, stating that those in attendance decided that one of their number was in a condition calling for immediate operation. "Then and there Doctors Park, Mann, Cary, with the other gentlemen assisting, removed from Mr. Norton the last

lingering Vice he had and gave to the University Chancellor Norton." To complete the triumph of the day, that morning came word that Governor Hughes had signed the bill providing for cancellation of all the stock of the University. At last the old bugbear which had been revamped so many times to frighten would-be friends was effectually put to sleep; at last it was possible legally to refute what had been really fiction for many years — that the University was a proprietary institution.

In the deed between the Supervisors and the University, executed June 16, 1909, there is one clause which has acted as a powerful incentive against undue delay: "If the property herein conveyed has not been put to University use within ten years of the date of the execution of this deed, the County of Erie shall have the right to repurchase the property aforesaid at the same price paid, with interest at 5 per cent. from the date of such payment." If such a calamity as the reversion of these 106 acres were allowed to happen, it would probably mean a permanent end to the Greater University, perhaps even of the University as it was in 1909; — for it has become increasingly evident, as larger and larger gifts have been made in this country for endowment and research, that independent professional schools can hardly exist without the advantages of a university connection. As American medical schools become fewer — but better — and their entrance requirements stricter, only the fittest survive — whose students are provided for them in large part by those who have received B. A.'s and B. S.'s from the same university. This has been one of the greatest difficulties of the local Medical College — especially after it had begun to require college work for entrance; and that is why the Arts Department was started, primarily as a feeder for the freshman medical class. This is true to some extent of the other professional schools of the University, so that it is not far out of the

way to say that the future of all the departments is in the last analysis bound up with that of the Arts Department. Probably it will be some years before the Medical College will require a college degree for entrance — desirable in most ways as that would be. Discussion of such a step leads back to a consideration of the class of students in the College, so many of whom cannot afford, even at home, to spend four years in academic study in addition to five or six in medical school and hospital. Even two often work hardship.

Aside from that factor, however, there is the claim that, especially in medicine, greater deftness in hand and brain results from beginning special study at a younger age than 22. Then, too, the value of the Bachelor's degree varies distinctly. A degree in itself signifies little in these days, when America can "boast" of nearly a thousand degree-giving institutions, and when there is quite as much difference in the value of a degree from different sources as in the merits of the colleges themselves. Two years in Harvard may be almost the equivalent of a Bachelor's degree in many a fresh-water college in states the Legislatures of which have been liberal in granting charters. But surely, whether two or four years are required, the very fact that *some* college work is necessary vindicates, more certainly than any other one thing can, the outstanding value of a college education for the professional man: the disciplined mind is the best tool for doing any work.

IV.

The problems confronting the men engaged in the effort for higher education in Buffalo were new to most of them, and new to the city. They had as yet won only the first phase of the struggle. They had convinced enough citizens of the need of a college for the college some day to be built; but what kind of an institution was it to be? Not

the question of whether it was to be old-fashioned or new, whether vocational studies and shop-work were to predominate over the classics—for the modern university must present a judicious combination; but whether sufficient funds could be secured to enable it to continue as a privately endowed institution, or whether the city should not share the expense. The necessary two millions for permanent endowment did not seem likely to be forthcoming before 1919, and in any event it seemed reasonable that the city whose name the University carries far¹⁹ should be asked to pay part of the maintenance, for a proper return. It was proposed that this return should be in the nature of 300 scholarships. Such a petition was presented to the Board of Aldermen in the spring of 1911.

The sum of only \$75,000 annually was asked for, in return for these scholarships. But the opponents of the University gathered in large numbers. At the hearings in the City Hall they heckled the University delegates, ridiculing them when they could not immediately answer every complicated question about maintenance and future funds, asking them to produce evidence to back up their confidence in the future of the College, demanding the names of those who were expected to contribute toward the endowment. Worst of all, the religious issue was injected. One alderman had heard dark hints that in the writings of one of the University Faculty were statements scandalously derogatory to the Catholic Church. Picking up gingerly Dr. Park's "History of Medicine," and turning to the page where he had been told that such ammunition awaited the fuse, he thundered out this quotation, among others, from the preface, omitting to include any context or connecting matter: "Only when students of science emancipated themselves from the prejudices and superstitions of

¹⁹ There are Buffalo graduates practising in Egypt, Belgian Congo, China, Syria, Japan, France, Hawaii, Porto Rico, besides in practically every State in the Union.

the theologians did medicine make more than perceptible progress."

The second issue injected in order to becloud the situation was the question of municipal control. The original contract had provided that the city should be represented on the Council by the Mayor, Comptroller, and Corporation Counsel; but inasmuch as it was to be only partially a municipal institution, the University Council felt that such a representation was proportionate to the financial share of the city in the enterprise. If the city had desired to take over the whole University, in such a way as Cincinnati has done, there would have been, of course, no objection to absolute city control. But when the University Council objected to entire city control, on the reasonable ground that the city would be only supplying a fraction of the expense, the opposition saw a second effectual means of killing the whole scheme. The fact that it was legally impossible, both under the existing University charter and by the enabling act of 1909, thus to turn over control to the city, was ignored; the Council was a "bunch of high-brows" who would trust no one else with the control of the people's University. Some of the newspaper stories at the time were more than undignified — they were positively indecent in their misrepresentation. Many of the papers, however, lent effective and intelligent support.

Such attacks it was inadvisable, if not impossible, to refute. All the Council could do was to prepare a dignified statement, on which they rested their case with all open-minded citizens. After deprecating the religious question which had arisen under a total — yet not, in all cases, a wilful — misapprehension of their aims, the Council dealt with the legal problem of city control, and continued:

There are also other compelling practical reasons why the University cannot be placed under city control. Your attention is respect-

fully called to the fact that the annual appropriation suggested in the proposed contract is only a portion of the money which it will be necessary to raise in order to help to equip and carry on the new College. The University intends to use these funds so appropriated solely for the purpose of obtaining as instructors a staff of scholars and scientists of high rank. The contract will properly bind it so to use such funds. For necessary buildings and their maintenance, additional instructors, and other purposes, a further sum, amounting to from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, must be ultimately raised by the University. This money must be obtained from donations to be made from time to time by private citizens in Buffalo and elsewhere. Of this amount \$250,000 should be raised at once for buildings, if the contract is made. The fact that a college could be said to be under city control would militate against these donations. Private citizens would view the College as a purely municipal institution, would feel no personal interest in it or responsibility for it, and would expect the city to support it adequately. It is a fact that citizens rarely give money to city institutions. Rightly or wrongly, politics is often thought to be a factor in the management of city institutions. Scientists and scholars of the first rank will not give up work elsewhere and come to an institution where they think politics may control; and the same consideration would deter its citizens from making their donations. The citizens of Buffalo want a first-class college or none; and the best interests of the city itself demand that the new College be a dignified and efficient institution of learning, entirely removed from the perils incident to municipal control.

This city cannot afford to wait longer for higher education, such as all large and many smaller cities now enjoy. We have had very decisive public declarations to that effect. If any official thinks otherwise, let him openly and squarely oppose us upon this simple issue, and not obscure it by insincere artifice or false issue injected to oppose the establishment of this College upon any terms whatever.

In our desire to remove all objections made to the contract proposed by us, we therefore respectfully make the following requests:

- (1) That your honorable body now show by individual vote of its members that it is willing to enter into a suitable form of contract with the University for the purposes specified in the enabling act.
- (2) That after such action, you enter into a properly drawn contract to be negotiated immediately, and to be satisfactory to the Council of the University as well as to yourselves, and if

deemed advisable that this contract so executed may be thereafter submitted to a vote of the people for approval before it shall take effect.

The present members of the University Council have no private interests to exploit. The interests of the city can be protected by a proper contract. We have been and are willing to agree that all reasonable restrictions shall be put into the contract to guarantee the proper and economical expenditure of any money to be paid by the city in return for the free scholarships which the University agrees to furnish.

If the present members of the Council, as citizens and taxpayers, are not deemed representative of the community, they stand ready to resign, so that their places may be filled by others to be chosen and elected in the manner provided by the charter of the University. Our only desire has been to place this city where it belongs in the matter of education—to give to every young man and woman, Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, an opportunity to obtain in Buffalo an education that will fit them for life as well as any which today may be obtained elsewhere by those who have the means to secure it. We have inherited this trust from our predecessors, who were inspired by the same ambition, and we will not cease in our efforts until we have created such a college.

When the question of the city's willingness to enter into a contract came to a vote in the Board of Aldermen, on April 17, 1911, the proposed, or any other similar agreement was voted down by fourteen to nine. The cause of commission government received that day its first great endorsement in Buffalo. Both candidates for Mayor in the previous election had pledged their administration, if elected, to do all in their power for the Greater University, but the pledge seemed powerless against the reactionary forces.

V.

Two years passed after this defeat, a time apparently of general apathy toward the movement. Recovery was slow. Meantime the professional departments were experiencing great increases in their enrollments. In 1913 the freshman medical class consisted of 94. Important changes

were taking place in administration, bringing into the Council three new deans. Dr. Alden as the member-elect from the Law Faculty took the place of Mr. Moot, who had received the high honor of election to the State Board of Regents. Dr. Daniel H. Squire succeeded, as dental dean, Dr. Snow, who shortly thereafter removed to California, where he still keeps up a lively interest in the College. Dr. Herbert U. Williams, professor of pathology, succeeded Dr. Mann as dean of the Medical College, and to him is due a large share of the credit for the successful inauguration, in the summer of 1913, of the courses in arts and sciences. In the Medical Faculty Doctors Mann, Long, and Busch resigned their chairs of obstetrics, materia medica, and physiology respectively; and to succeed two of them, teachers who had achieved reputations outside Buffalo were called to the Faculty. Frederick H. Pratt, M. A., M. D., of the Harvard Medical School, was made professor of physiology, and Francis C. Goldsborough, B. S., M. D., of Johns Hopkins University, became professor of obstetrics. DeWitt H. Sherman, B. A., M. D., was made professor of materia medica. The retirement of Dr. Frederick C. Busch as professor of physiology was necessitated by ill health, and his untimely death in 1914 was a greivous loss alike to the medical and teaching professions. In 1905 Dr. James A. Gibson had been elected professor of anatomy, continuing a connection of many years, and he was made secretary and treasurer of the College in 1912, succeeding Dr. Long.^{19a} In the Dental Faculty Dr. R. H. Hofheinz, now of Rochester, had resigned the chair of operative dentistry, being made professor emeritus. He was succeeded by Dr. Squire, dean since 1912. At the same time Dr. Charles K. Buell began his membership in the Faculty, being made professor of crown and bridge work and dental ceramics. The only important change in the Faculty of Pharmacy was the

^{19a}. Dr. Gibson died on October 4, 1917.

election in 1913 of Dr. Eli H. Long as professor of toxicology. In the Law School Hon. George B. Burd, Hon. Clinton T. Horton, and Frederick D. Corey entered the Faculty.

It has been previously remarked that the Medical College has been for many years ranked in Class A by the committee on medical education of the American Medical Association. Naturally one of the conditions of remaining in that class has been a readiness to advance not only the requirements for a degree but more especially those for entrance. From that august body — whose decrees are to 100,000 doctors supreme law — now came the ruling that medical schools must require at least one preliminary college year, including certain stated subjects, in order to be approved. So here, all ready-made, was the beginning of the Arts Department. On June 18, 1913 — an historic date when its consequences are considered — the Council met to discuss how best it could meet the new situation. The Councilors were careful to deprecate any thought of founding a college, for which there were no more funds in sight now than before, and so the new departure was christened Courses in Arts and Sciences. But in the background of their minds must have been the idea that the enterprise was not to be wholly in favor of only the Medical College. If it was received favorably by the public — despite the meager resources available, totally inadequate for a college — it would certainly encourage them to develop the courses, if that were possible at the end of the year. Accordingly, in addition to the purely pre-medical courses offered — English, French, German, chemistry, biology, physics — others were advertised whereby a complete freshman year's work could be obtained in the course leading to the B. S. degree. Such additional courses were mathematics and mechanical drawing. A committee consisting of the three senior deans, Doctors

Williams, Gregory, and Alden, was appointed as a supervisory body, which after a few months was changed to include the fourth dean, Dr. Squire, and a member-elect, Mr. Park, from the infant Faculty. For over a year this committee held frequent meetings to decide on the nature of the courses and the personnel of the Faculty, until it was discharged in 1915, when the conduct of the new Department was left entirely in the hands of its Faculty.

This first Faculty of Arts and Sciences consisted of the following: chemistry, Albert P. Sy, Ph.D., and Walter M. Ralph, B. Chem.; physics, M. Smith Thomas, A. C., and James Cadwell, B. A.; biology, Lester B. Gary and Rosa R. Weigand; mathematics, Wilfred H. Sherk, M. A.; English, Philip B. Goetz, B. A.; French, Felix A. Casassa and Julian Park, M. A.; German, Wilhelm Oncken; Latin, Peter Gow, Jr., B. A. John O. McCall, B. A., D.D. S., of the Dental Faculty, had been made secretary in charge of the courses, continuing until February of 1914, when Mr. Park succeeded him.

On September 22, 1913, the various departments of the University began their work for the year, and for the first time opening exercises were held by all the schools in common. Interest naturally centered on the registration in the arts courses. In presiding at the joint exercises, Chancellor Norton reminded the Law alumni and students that it was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Law School, which started its work in the Public Library building just a quarter of a century ago to a day. "At that time," he said, "as a member of the Law Faculty I faced an entering class of eight good men and true, a tiny nucleus which has developed into one of the best schools of the country, its needs having grown so that this year it requires three times the space it had last session. Today, as the head of a greatly enlarged and almost complete University, I have the fortune to face an entering

class of no less than thirty-five, who are willing to try their luck in our youngest department." 20

There were in addition twenty-six special students. Not all of the thirty-five were pre-medical students. Six of them entered the B. S. course, with the touching confidence that Providence would provide the other three years, or that, if they were transferred to other colleges, their freshman year's work would be accredited. Strange to say, it was. Cornell, Colgate, and even Harvard granted the same privileges to students transferred from an utterly unknown and untried institution as if they had come from the oldest college in the land. Nothing could have been a more welcome surprise than that kind of encouragement. It came before the new courses had even been inspected by the Regents. It was not until the second year was under way that the State Department of Education approved even the pre-medical year. In the fall of 1915 it approved the entire freshman year as of standard college grade and proposed to take similar action from year to year until the full four-years' course was registered. In accordance with this action, the sophomore year was accredited in the fall of 1916.

It was obvious from the start, however, that not much more than freshman subjects could be taught in the accommodations available. No money was at hand to hire rooms outside of the University quarters as they then were. So the office of the new "college" for some months consisted of practically two desks in the librarian's room of the medical building. For recitation rooms, both the medical and dental buildings were requisitioned, but naturally the needs of the arts classes were subordinated to the requirements of those departments. It became a common thing for an instructor to find his class, which was scheduled for a certain room, at the other end of the building. It was

20 *Buffalo Express*, September 23, 1913.

perfectly possible, before he got to know his students' faces, for him to walk into a room full of supposedly arts students, to find blank expressions when he began to expound French or mathematics, and to discover that they were medical or pharmacy or dental students.

Before the end of its first year the Greater University suffered the loss of one of its most earnest champions — one eager to advance its fame not only in ways pertaining to his own profession but everywhere that its service was needed. The Council, meeting the day after Dr. Park's death, February 16, 1914, adopted the following resolution:

By the sudden death of Roswell Park, M. D., M. A., LL. D., the University of Buffalo loses far more than can adequately be expressed in the words of a brief, formal appreciation, such as this tribute of respect must be. It is not for us so much to measure Dr. Park's high service in this community as a public-spirited citizen, as a versatile yet profound toiler in scientific research, or as a writer whose world-wide fame has conferred distinction upon the home of his adoption, as to recognize and declare the great debt the University of Buffalo owes him as its loyal and generous friend and as its constant and tireless champion. He shared our vicissitudes and aspirations for thirty years, and he lived to be able to say, as he did to this Council twelve hours before his death, that he rejoiced in the signs of an early consummation of the long-cherished hopes of the University's steadfast friends.

The chair of surgery was not filled until 1917, when Dr. Park's associate, Edgar R. McGuire, 1900, for several years associate professor, was elected full professor.

Dr. Ernest Wende, also internationally known in scientific circles, had died in 1911, and the University was shortly to lose two other beloved members of its Faculty. Dr. Nelson W. Wilson, '98, died in 1915, and Dr. Harry Mead, '91, in 1917. Both these teachers, who were of about the same age, had achieved much in their lifetime, but much more was expected of them.

VI.

In the summer of 1915 the system of governing the Medical College, practically the same as that which had been in operation since the beginning, was completely modified. Instead of an executive Faculty of few members, with rather autocratic powers of nomination to the general Faculty, the new organization vested the control in two bodies, an administrative board of ten members, nominated by the Faculty for appointment by the Council, and a board of instruction of twelve, consisting of the heads of the teaching departments or their delegates. A number of standing committees, appointed by the Faculty, has charge of various divisions of work. Voting power in the Faculty is held by all teachers, with the exception of instructors and assistants of less than five years' service.²¹

This system of government, which has the support of the entire Faculty, utilizes the best features of various other institutions and incorporates a number of original ideas, the credit for the greater part of which belongs to Professor Pratt. The plan in general is designed to place responsibility for the affairs of the College upon the teaching staff, which delegates power to its administrative bodies and through these to their officers. In the interest of a compact University organization, ultimate decision rests, however, with the Council as trustees.

The first administrative board under the new regime was composed of: Thomas H. McKee, Herbert U. Williams, Charles G. Stockton, Grover W. Wende, Francis C. Goldsborough, DeWitt H. Sherman, James A. Gibson, Nelson G. Russell, Frederick H. Pratt, and Arthur G. Bennett. The board is renewed every five years by two annual retirements and elections.

²¹ By-laws and rules governing the Department of Medicine, published April, 1916.

The first board of instruction consisted of: DeLancey Rochester, associate professor of medicine, chairman; John L. Butsch, assistant professor of pharmacology, secretary; Herbert U. Williams, professor of pathology and bacteriology; Albert P. Sy, professor of chemistry; James W. Putnam, professor of neurology; W. Ward Plummer, assistant professor of orthopedics; Grover W. Wende, professor of dermatology; Arthur G. Bennett, assistant professor of ophthalmology; James A. Gibson, professor of anatomy; Charles A. Bentz, associate in embryology; Frederick H. Pratt, professor of physiology; and Francis C. Goldsborough, professor of obstetrics.

At the same time, Dr. Williams retired as dean in order to devote more time to his teaching work, and his place was taken by Dr. Thomas H. McKee, '98, who entered thoroughly into the spirit of the new regime. In the Dental Faculty Dr. Abram Hoffman was elected professor of prosthetic dentistry, Dr. John O. McCall, professor of chemistry (transferred in 1917 to the professorship of oral hygiene), and Dr. Thomas O. Hicks, professor of histology and embryology.

A significant addition to the Council membership also took place. In November, 1914, the Arts Faculty, feeling that there was no one member of the Council qualified by intimate association to represent it as the other Faculties were represented, petitioned for permission to elect a delegate. The request was promptly and adequately answered in the election of Philip Becker Goetz, who, however, became a member at large. This was because, if he had come in as a member-elect from the Arts Faculty, recognition might thereby have been extended as a College — which for the time being the desire was to avoid.

VII.

But the new enterprise was all unconsciously impressing its needs upon the community. Some of those who recognized its worth and realized the poverty of its resources were members of an organization which for nearly thirty years had done work for women of inestimable value along educational and social lines. This work was carried on in a substantial and handsome four-story building of brick and stone at the corner of Delaware Avenue and Niagara Square. There the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, at first doing pioneer work, gradually saw its purposes shared by other organizations with similar aims. The efficiency of the Public Library, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Legal Aid Bureau, and other kindred bodies, together with the increased scope of the Charity Organization Society, meant duplication of energy if an organization with the Union's limited funds should continue to do their work. First in the field in many of these activities, the Women's Union saw itself gradually, though still doing excellent work, pushed to one side by wealthier societies, which owed their success, in some cases, to their imitation of the Union's methods. At the last full meeting of the Union, January 28, 1915, the practical side of the matter was presented in spirited fashion by Mrs. Henry S. Madden, who pointed out that any business which was annually going deeper into debt furnished its own best argument for discontinuing. She added that although this failure was not prompting the gift of the building or detracting from its altruistic spirit, the women must realize that they had no right to appeal for funds for work which was not being done.

The proposition of the gift was enthusiastically greeted. Said one newspaper: "Let the example be followed by the men of Buffalo, who need not be ashamed here to acknowledge the leadership of public-spirited women who have so

effectively pointed the way. May the new College of Arts and Sciences be a fitting monument to Buffalo womanhood!"²²

Of the conditions of the gift the most important proved to be a very fortunate proviso. It was, that within one year — on or before February 22, 1916, the University was to raise \$100,000 for the endowment of a College of Arts and Sciences. The University was further to assume the current liabilities of the Union, not exceeding \$6,000, and was to maintain annually three free scholarships for women. These scholarships are known as the Women's Educational and Industrial Union scholarship, the Founders' scholarship, and the Fiske scholarship of household arts. The Union's building was to be known thereafter as Townsend Hall, in honor of Mrs. George W. Townsend, founder and long-time president of the Union. If the property on Niagara Square is ever sold, another building for the same purpose must be erected and given the same name.

University Day (February 22) of 1915 was celebrated as if the gift was practically assured. The speaker of the day was Dr. Charles F. Thwing, president of Western Reserve University, and Mrs. Adelbert Moot spoke in behalf of the Union. Briefly sketching its history, she mentioned those to whom its success was due, saying that the founder, Mrs. Townsend, was the only one of the original group now present. "Still inspired by a devout and absorbing passion for progress, she leads the way toward this noble co-operation between Union and University. Dear to us is the past of the Women's Union, with all its cherished memories, and equally dear to us shall be the future of the College of Arts and Sciences. With this gift go all our confidence and prayers that genuine, molding, humanizing

²² *Buffalo Commercial*, January 29, 1915.

culture will rise above the horizon and dignify the human life of our city." ²³

Visibly affected, but despite her age speaking in clear tones which more than once rang out inspiring, Mrs. Townsend formally presented the building of the Union to Chancellor Norton, saying as she concluded: "As I pass this trust deed in behalf of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union to the University of Buffalo, I would pay grateful tribute to the three or four former presidents who followed me (only one is absent today) — Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Thomas B. Reading, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, and Mrs. Henry Wertimer. I would emphasize the fact that we are not giving up Union ideals — many of them have been realized; the Union has always stood for higher education." ²⁴ Mrs. Townsend lived long enough to see the University take permanent possession of the building named for her; then, in 1916, passed to her rest.

Some other gifts were announced on that memorable occasion, which came as surprises. The Women's Investigating Club contributed a scholarship for girls of the value of \$2,000, and Mrs. John Miller Horton announced the donation of the Pascal Paoli Pratt scholarship, of a like amount.

On March 15th the new Department (for the Council had now formally given it that designation) moved to its new quarters, and there was another celebration. This time the auditorium in Townsend Hall, with a seating capacity of 600, was used for the exercises, which brought together a number of men prominent for their interest in educational matters. The students taking work in the new building now numbered in this, the second year of the Department, ninety, who found that the building was easily adapted to the activities of a college. This was on

²³ *Buffalo Express*, February 23, 1915.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

account of the largely educational work of the Union. The classrooms are large and of varying sizes; laboratories were equipped, and a reference library begun in the Ripley Memorial Library room.

From almost entirely a pre-medical course the Department had already grown so as to include a number of subjects of sophomore grade. Mr. Goetz had added a course in Shakespeare, Mr. Sherk sophomore mathematics, and Mr. Park, leaving the French altogether in Mr. Casassa's hands, offered the first of a number of courses in history. C. Lee Shilliday, M. S., joined the Faculty from Cornell as instructor in biology.

For the third year the increased accommodations made it possible to enlarge even further the scope of the work. Additions to the Faculty included Susan F. Chase, Pd. D., in psychology, and Francesco E. DiBartolo, B. A., in Italian; while other subjects added were German literature, hygiene, nature study, English poets of the nineteenth century, United States and South American history, and further advanced work in chemistry and mathematics. The matriculation in September, 1915, showed a total of 205, many of whom enrolled still without any definite assurance that they could be granted a degree in arts or science in due time. Most of the special students have been teachers in the city's high or grade schools, who avail themselves of this opportunity (which they never had prior to the establishment of the College) to secure advanced work either in the subjects which they teach or for its cultural advantage. It will be some years before many of them will have been able to secure sufficient credits for a degree, but the College has made every allowance for these public-spirited teachers, who sacrifice much time, money, and convenience to increase their usefulness to the city and their own mental resources. The subjects most popular with them are taught at hours when they can

attend, and they enroll in the same classes as the regular students.

VIII.

To attempt any further detailed survey of the development of the incipient College would occupy relatively undue space. And yet its first four years, with which this account closes, are as momentous as the first years of any great educational movement. They lack, to be sure, the romance of the origins of such a college as Williams — whose founder was a military hero, dying in the midst of victory and leaving all his property to perpetuate his name; and they lack the continual excitement of such a phenomenal growth as that of the University of Chicago, where, inside of twenty-five years, "every year saw established a new journal, a new department, a new college, or a new school."²⁵ It may well be repeated that no group of men bent on conferring untold benefits upon their city ever met with such discouragement. "Do not tie yourself up with such a scheme," was the advice given to more than one member of the Faculty.

But when their vindication came, it was complete. At the time of the Women's Union gift the country had not yet recovered from the first uncertainty caused by the great war. War orders had not yet brought on the subsequent wave of prosperity. So the raising, in 1915, of the \$100,000 necessary for the permanent possession of Townsend Hall seemed a formidable obstacle. Time wore on, and nothing apparently was being done. University Day of next year — the time limit allowed — was actually at hand before it was known that the building was secured. But the actual gifts then made and promised so far exceeded expectations that many eyes grew dim, many hearts beat faster, and even the frequent applause died down as the realization

²⁵ T. W. Goodspeed, "History of the University of Chicago," p. 472.





SEYMOUR H. KNOX.

of what such generosity would mean to the community came home to those who had worked under so many discouragements for such a culmination. Gifts aggregating a greater total than have ever been given for educational purposes in Buffalo were announced at the exercises of February 22, 1916, by the Rev. Dr. Andrew V. V. Raymond, in behalf of the Council. His report included a reading of the following letter:

BUFFALO, February 16, 1916.

DEAR DR. RAYMOND: My children and myself are desirous of creating some memorial in memory of my late husband, Seymour H. Knox, and after careful consideration have concluded that the thing of most vital interest to the City of Buffalo and its people is the University of Buffalo, and we can think of no finer purpose in creating a memorial in memory of Mr. Knox than to be permitted to assist in the upbuilding and development of an institution of learning such as the City of Buffalo should possess.

It is our desire to create an endowment fund for the University of Buffalo to be known as the Seymour H. Knox Foundation, the principal of which, together with other gifts which may from time to time be made to the Foundation, shall be held intact and the income used for the support and maintenance of a department of liberal arts and sciences in the University of Buffalo.

In order that the University may take advantage of the generous proposition of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in reference to their property on Niagara Square, I beg to inform you that I am prepared, upon request from the University and upon satisfactory assurance that the other conditions of the proposition of the Women's Union have been complied with, and that the University of Buffalo will receive said sum and devote the same to the purposes herein set forth, to deposit to the credit of the University of Buffalo the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, which sum, together with any other gifts which may from time to time be added to it, shall be known as the Seymour H. Knox Foundation, which sum or sums shall be held intact and the income used for the purpose aforesaid.

It is my hope that the fund hereinabove created shall by gifts from myself and my children amount ultimately to half a million dollars, and it is my present purpose to make a gift of \$50,000 each year for the next three years and to provide in my will for a further gift of

\$250,000 to said fund. Of course, I shall ask that proper provisions be made governing the care and preservation of the property from time to time constituting the Seymour H. Knox Foundation, and the method of its investment and disposition.

With sincere thanks to you for presenting to us the opportunity of assisting in the promotion of this splendid enterprise, believe me

Most sincerely yours,

MRS. SEYMOUR H. KNOX.

In submitting this letter, Dr. Raymond said in part:

It is scarcely necessary for me to state that this ultimate gift of half a million dollars for endowment assures the establishment of the College, for it is by endowment only that a modern college is maintained; so that, whatever our College may become in the future, it will always rest upon the foundation laid by this gift, and bearing the name of Seymour H. Knox. This name, which has stood for years in this community for a clean private life, strict integrity, strength of character, and business ability amounting to genius, has added to it today a distinction that wealth alone cannot confer — the distinction and honor expressed by the words "public benefactor," and so becomes a name that will always be honored in this city of his residence and will live in the grateful regard of thousands upon thousands who through generations to come will share in the benefits made possible by this foundation.

But while endowment is doubtless the most imperative need of a college and usually the most difficult thing to secure, there are other needs which must be met before a college can be said to be fairly established; and chief among these are buildings and equipment for its work. An endowment cannot be diverted to these ends. Unless, therefore, some adequate physical equipment can be provided our College enterprise will be slow in developing. You see, therefore, the necessity of providing for a building to be erected on the College site within the limit of time fixed by the county, and consequently you can appreciate all that it means for me to announce, as I now do, the gift of a quarter of a million dollars for the erection of the first or central building, the key of the whole group of buildings that will ultimately crown University Hill. This central building is to bear the name of Edmund Hayes Hall.

This gift, however, carries with it a condition for which I think the University will always be grateful; namely, that in addition to

it one million dollars be raised for the purposes of the College before June 16, 1919. I am not informed whether or not the Seymour H. Knox endowment fund may be counted toward this million dollars; and really it does not matter, for now that this great enterprise which has been talked about for so many years has been so splendidly begun, we believe most confidently that the citizens of Buffalo will carry it through to an equally splendid consummation.

The hour has struck. In this confident belief, the joint committee of which I have spoken will soon begin a city-wide campaign for a million dollars, of which one-half at least shall be for endowment. With a million dollars of endowment and three-quarters of a million in buildings and equipment, the year 1919 will mark the complete establishment of the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Buffalo, that for all the future shall be the crowning glory of the Queen City of the Lakes. But whatever the future may have in store, nothing will ever dim the lustre of the three names we honor today — Seymour H. Knox, Edmund Hayes, and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

It remains but to pick up some scattered threads — for many factors which enter into the life of a university have been, for the sake of continuity, neglected in the previous pages. But college life and customs have been unfortunately absent to a great extent from the University of Buffalo. Most of the students live at home, and the professional studies of all of them leave them little time for extra-curriculum activities. Nevertheless, athletics have sporadically appeared. From about 1896 up to 1903 the University was creditably represented by a football eleven, which encountered teams from some of the largest colleges in the East and middle West. In the fall of 1915 athletics were renewed, with increasing success until the spring of 1917, when the declaration of war forced a cancellation of schedules. The University, like its sister institutions, is well represented by young patriots in the Army, Navy, and National Guard. Publications have included *The Iris*, published annually from 1897 to 1907, and a monthly, *The University Bison*, which began in March, 1913, and has

since prospered, being originally conducted partly to keep the general public in touch with the Greater University movement. Musical interests now comprise not only a glee club but a band and an orchestra. The University branch of the Young Men's Christian Association is busy enough to warrant the services of a graduate secretary, giving most of his time to the students. For some years this secretary was Raymond F. Rope, who, however, in the summer of 1917 left Buffalo for China.

If it is not an imposing array of undergraduate activities, the explanation is — at least in part — creditable; the students come to work, and realize that they have frittered away sufficient time already in the schools or colleges from which they have come to the University. Each Department has its fraternities, which not only solve the problem of a college home for the out-of-town students but invariably have for their aims a desire to increase their members' studiousness and mental resources in their own profession. This may not be the most important purpose of all of them, but at least it enters into their objects sufficiently to win for the Buffalo fraternities respect as well as tolerance.

For years, as was natural, the alumni confined what interest they took in the University to their own department. But the departmental alumni associations were all active and attracted to their reunions a satisfactory number of the old students. This, while good in its way, was narrowing; all these graduates received their degrees not from a department but from the University. To secure the interest and active co-operation of the alumni in the University as a whole was a task which, never having been systematically attempted before 1915, called for the most persistent energy on the part of those whose inspiration was: "The loyalty of the alumni to Alma Mater is the greatest moral asset of the University." On February 22,

1915, after much preliminary work the Federated Alumni Association was founded, with every graduate *ipso facto* an associate member. The members are the departmental alumni societies, five in number, each of which elects three members, the resulting fifteen forming the House of Delegates; they in turn elect the officers of the association. It is a workable form of organization, and treats every department equitably in rotation, the president being *ipso facto* the president of each departmental association, taking them in the order of the founding of the department. The association has held three well-attended dinners on the evening of each University Day, and has been responsible for the organization of district branch associations wherever there are enough graduates to justify their existence. In this way branch associations have been formed for the Rochester district, the central and northern New York district, the Chautauqua district, southern New York and northern Pennsylvania, and Greater New York. Each organization holds a meeting and dinner at different times of the year, at which the local alumni are largely represented.

He is indeed rash who in these days ventures to predict the future in anything—least of all in education. He may prophesy the future of the professional school with more certainty than that of the college of arts, for the one is a stepping-stone to a career more obviously than the other. No college today has fully risen to the importance or the privilege of its opportunity. No institution in the land has a destiny richer in its potentiality than this four-year old college; no city in the Union is in greater need of its ministrations. But in a community like Buffalo—which, after all, is a new city, especially in the education of its citizens—more and more people are, happily, coming to realize that no city is great unless it rests the eye, feeds the intellect, and leads its people out of the bondage of

the commonplace. Buffalo has agencies which do one or another of these things, but to do all three it must be blessed with the moral reservoir of higher education. These pages, then, miss the interpretation which it has been the effort to give them if they have not furnished the background for such a high resolve.

APPENDIX I

BENEFACTORS OF THE UNIVERSITY.*

- 1882 James P. White, M. D., medical library, bequest.
- 1891 George N. Burwell, M. D., medical library, bequest.
- 1891 Mrs. Esther A. Glenny, \$2,500, for the Burwell Library Fund.
- 1891 Jonathan Scoville, \$20,000, bequest; used toward the cost of the new medical building.
- 1896 Devillo W. Harrington, M. D., '71, \$2,000, for the Harrington Lectureship Fund, for lectures in the Medical College by outside specialists.
- 1897 C. F. W. Boedecker, D. D. S., New York, museum of comparative dental anatomy.
- 1897 E. Carleton Sprague, \$5,000, bequest; used toward the purchase of the North Main-street site.
- 1899 Elizabeth Gates, \$5,000, bequest, to the Medical College.
- 1900 Mrs. William H. Gratwick, Sr., \$25,000, for the Gratwick Cancer Laboratory.
- 1902 Charles Van Bergen, M. D., a sum to furnish the physiological and pharmacological laboratories in the medical building.
- 1905 George Gorham, \$1,000, bequest, to the Medical College.
- 1909 Buffalo City Federation of Women's Clubs, \$2,000, for the Katherine Pratt Horton scholarship in the College of Arts.
- 1913 Charles A. Ring, M. D., '78, \$500, bequest, to the Medical College.
- 1914 Hamilton Ward, \$2,000, for the maintenance of the College of Arts.
- 1914 Roswell Park, M. D., medical library, bequest.
- 1915 Women's Educational and Industrial Union, gift of their building.

* This list does not include most of the contributors (1) to the medical building on High Street, (2) to the purchase of the North Main Street site, or (3) to the library of the Law School. Space would not suffice to enumerate all these benefactors.

- 1915 Women's Investigating Club, \$2,000, for a scholarship.
 1915 Henry A. Richmond, \$3,550, bequest, for the College of Arts.
 1915 Irving M. Snow, M. D., '81, \$2,000, for the Medical College.
 1915 Mrs. John Miller Horton, \$2,000, for the Pascal Paoli Pratt scholarship in the College of Arts.
 1916-1919 Mrs. Seymour H. Knox, Seymour H. Knox, Jr., and Mrs. Frank H. Goodyear, \$250,000, for the endowment of the College of Arts.
 1916 Edmund Hayes, \$250,000 for the first building of the College of Arts, conditional on the raising of \$1,000,000.
 1917 Clara A. March, M. D., '07, \$2,000, as a loan fund for students in the Colleges of Medicine and Chemistry.
 1917 Women's Educational and Industrial Union, \$3,000, to be known as the Cora Bullymore Fund, for the purchase of books for the library of the College of Arts.

APPENDIX II

STATISTICS OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1916-17

Department	Alumni Organized	Number of Faculty	Students	Years in Course
Medicine.....	1875	107	206	4
Pharmacy.....	1889	13	120	2-3
Law.....	1914	24	147	3
Dentistry.....	1900	42	285	4
Analytical Chemistry.....	1914	12	57	3
Arts and Sciences.....	21	239	3
Totals.....		219	1,054	

ROSWELL PARK:

A MEMOIR

BY

CHARLES G. STOCKTON, M. D.



ROSWELL PARK, M. D.

ROSWELL PARK: A MEMOIR¹

BY CHARLES G. STOCKTON, M. D.

I.

Two years have elapsed since the decease of Dr. Roswell Park — two years crowded with events so tremendous that the mind may well be pre-occupied and memory diverted from the natural round. Yet these two years have served only to deepen the sense of regret, to increase the realization, that a large force and influence are missing from our civic life. A force and an influence wont to be exercised helpfully in a wide field of usefulness; an unusual intelligence, an incomparable skill, a beloved companionship — all these cannot soon be forgotten.

Dr. Park for a third of a century brought honor and benefit to Buffalo, and it must be considered as very suitable that the lifework of the man should have the historical framing which the present action of the Buffalo Historical Society helps to bring about.

Dr. Park was of the ninth generation in America of an ancient family, which appears to have come into England with William the Conqueror. Sir Robert Parke, the first of the family in America, was born in Preston, England, in 1580. He immigrated into Massachusetts in 1630, but soon after moved to Connecticut, of which State many of his numerous descendants have been natives.

Also from both the father and mother, Roswell Park was descendant of Elder Brewster of the "Mayflower" colony

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of Plymouth. Six generations have had a Roswell; the son of Dr. Park has the distinction of being the seventh to bear this name.

On his mother's side Roswell Park sprang from Henry Baldwin, a native of Devonshire, who in 1640 appears to have been a signer of the Town Order of Woburn, Mass. Colonel Loammi Baldwin, Dr. Park's great-grandfather, was a personal friend of Count Rumford and a co-worker with him in scientific experiments. The five sons of this ancestor were civil engineers; one of them having constructed the first drydock for the United States Government and having built the original milldam at Boston.

Mary Brewster Baldwin, the daughter of one of these brothers, was the mother of Roswell Park, and it is believed that the mechanical skill and love of science for which he was conspicuous were derived from the Baldwin family. The Park family has been notable for scholarly and literary qualities. The church, the academy and the army have chiefly engaged the Parks through several generations, and all three of these callings entered into the lifework of the Rev. Roswell Park, D. D., the surgeon's father. Born in Lebanon, Conn., in 1807, he spent several years with his grandfather whose name he bore, a soldier in the army that defeated Burgoyne. Later removing with his father to New York State, he prepared for Hamilton College, then was appointed a cadet at West Point, and was graduated from the military academy the head of his class in 1831. Immediately afterwards he acquired the degree of B. A. from Union College and was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa.

He was commissioned a lieutenant in the engineer corps of the army, in which for several years he served in the development of Fort Adams, Fort Warren, and the Delaware Breakwater. In 1836 he resigned and was appointed professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania, the successor of Professor Bache. Meantime he became known as a writer, contributing extensively to the periodicals of the time, and publishing a volume of poems which are valuable in reflecting the spirit of the literary movement in America during what may be called the early federal period. After several years of successful work at the University of Pennsylvania, he retired from his chair to take orders in the Episcopal Church. He removed to Woburn, Mass., where he was rector of the parish and where he established a private school. At Pomfret, Conn., in 1852, there was born to him his to-be-distinguished son, Roswell. While the latter was an infant the Rev. Roswell Park, after a sojourn in Europe, took up his abode at Racine, Wisconsin, where soon after he founded Racine College, and was the president from 1852 to 1859. Among his numerous scholastic honors were the degrees of M. A. from Union and from Hamilton Colleges and D. D. from Norwich University, which called him to its presidency, but without result. He was rector of St. Luke's Church in Racine from 1856 to 1863, at which date he complied with an urgent call from Chicago, to become the head of Immanuel Hall, a church and military school, where he remained until his death in 1869.

The following list comprises his more important publications: "Juvenile and Miscellaneous Poems," 1836; "Sketch of the History of West Point," 1840; "Pantology, A Systematic Survey of Human Knowledge," 1841; "Handbook for Travelers in Europe," 1853; "Jerusalem and Other Poems," 1857; together with various text-books for the use of his pupils.

Existing testimonials indicate that Mary Brewster Park, the mother of Roswell, was a personality equally rare with that of her distinguished husband, and her death in 1854 must have been a loss immeasurable to her young son. The desolation that fell upon the Wisconsin home is pathetically

portrayed in the poems and other writings of the unhappy husband.

Roswell, then between two and three years old, was sent to the care of his uncle, Dr. Lewis Williams, at Pomfret, Conn. The boy was born at Pomfret, May 4, 1852; so it turned out that his childhood was largely spent in a New England environment, for he remained with his uncle until he was nine years old.

During six years when not at school, Roswell was much in the company of Dr. Williams, riding with him on his professional rounds and, perhaps, having then planted within him the ambition for a surgical career. Returning to Racine, he was for two years a pupil at the grammar school connected with the college. Then he removed with his father to Chicago and was a student at Immanuel Hall until the death of the Rev. Dr. Park, when Roswell entered Racine College, from which ancestral institution he received the degrees of B. A. in 1872 and M. A. in 1875. It is noteworthy that he never attended a public school.

Early in life the young Park evinced a natural aptitude for the mechanical arts and handicraft. He always had access to a well-equipped carpenter shop and gave continued evidence of skill in the use of tools. When little more than a child he assisted his father in preparation for chemical demonstrations in teaching, and his proficiency in chemistry had a very practical foundation.

As recounted by his remaining sister, Miss Mary Park, he amused himself during these years in activities that showed a decided scientist bent. For instance, in boat-building, in constructing telegraphic apparatus, in chemical and astronomical investigations.

The most remarkable characteristic of Roswell Park was his studiousness; his lucid and logical mind led his friends to expect of him the highest achievements as a scholar, and in this there was no disappointment. It was accepted as

but natural that he should win the highest honors in the academic and professional schools, and he took his various rewards easily yet modestly. Meantime he displayed those remarkable social qualities that made him conspicuous both as a boy and man, that made him the delight of every group and organization; that led him to the captaincy of every undertaking, not because of his choice but that of his associates.

Having taken his degree at Racine, he returned to Chicago and for one year taught at Immanuel Hall, the place of his father's final activities. It was discovered that Roswell Park was a born teacher. At this time he entered the Medical Department of Northwestern University, beginning that medical career which he loved so well, for which he had a remarkable preparation, in which he enriched his profession and acquired lasting fame.

It is not surprising that his qualities marked him at the medical school as one to have a shining future. Accepting quietly the honors that came with the degree of M. D., he began his service as interne and house physician at Cook County Hospital and devoted the available time to visiting other hospitals and to work in morbid anatomy. It was while "House" at the Cook County Hospital that he made his first visit to Buffalo, a delegate to the American Medical Association meeting of 1878. Then it was that he first entered as visitor the old Buffalo Medical College and the Buffalo General Hospital. The visiting card which he then presented to the house physicians of the General Hospital is yet preserved as a valued souvenir. During this short sojourn in Buffalo he examined the various scientific and educational institutions of the city. He found time, while enjoying the open hospitality of the town, to discover what it was doing in medicine and science.

This feature is dwelt upon because it exemplifies strikingly that which became a fixed habit and illustrates the

method by the practice of which he came to know by first hand what was done at the chief centers of the world, and resulted in his becoming one of the best informed men on this continent.

Completing his tour of interne service, he began his medical teaching, in 1879, as demonstrator of anatomy in the Women's Medical College of Chicago. He was sensitized by the magical influence of Christian Fenger, a touch which wrought transformation in ideals and growth among the young Chicagoans of that day. In the following year he became adjunct professor of anatomy in the Medical Department of Northwestern University, which position, three years later, he resigned to study in Europe. Those who knew his insatiable yearning for knowledge, not alone in his profession, but in literature, art, music, lore, and all the inventions, can imagine what those first wonderful years in Germany, France and Austria yielded to him.

Vigorous, handsome, highly trained; possessed with the traditions of learning, a pervading sense of humor, an air and the heir of distinction; a skilled musician, a witty and brilliant conversationalist, a notorious "mixer" with men, it is not extraordinary that he quickly formed an extensive acquaintance among the foremost wherever he went, and many of these acquaintances became permanent friends. Above all he loved life, humane activities, accomplishment. Knowledge, art and technique he sought; pathology first, the clinic next, and practice last, outlined briefly his method in relation to surgical study, but he was not limited to professional aims; he applied corresponding principles in acquiring an astonishingly varied learning in all directions.

While yet in Europe he was made lecturer on surgery in Rush Medical College, and attending surgeon at the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago. These appointments launched him at once into responsible clinical and peda-

gological work, into the tide setting toward his highest ambition. Without delay began those researches and contributions to science destined to bring him international renown and instantly marking him as a new force in American surgery. Other appointments came, and in 1892 Lake Forest University accorded him the honorary degree of M. D. and Chicago recognized him as an ornament to the profession.

II.

In 1883 the chair of surgery in the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo was made vacant, through the retirement of that Nestor of surgeons and unequalled teacher, Edward M. Moore, and the disability of his brilliant colleague, Julius F. Miner — imperishable names in surgical annals. To find an adequate successor to these men started a canvass of America, for only one having the topmost qualifications could hope to fill the gap. An appeal to Chicago by the peerless Thomas F. Rochester, dean of the medical faculty until his death in 1887, brought the assurance from Professor Gunn that Roswell Park stood out as the one whose ability would satisfy every need, and the future more than justified the estimate of Moses Gunn.

The Buffalo school, one of the oldest, had been regarded as one of the best in the country, owing especially to the men who had composed its faculty. Austin Flint, and Flint, Jr., Frank Hamilton, John C. Dalton, James P. White, James and George Hadley, Doremus, Corydon L. Ford, Lee, Potter, Rochester, Moore, Miner, and Witthaus were among the men of those days who had helped to make the college notable. Matthew D. Mann, for many years dean, had but shortly before entered the faculty. There was a great and tempting field for surgical work. On the other hand, there were envy, jealousy and open hostility to com-

bat, and there was the open road to a glowing future in Chicago. Fortunately for Buffalo the decision fell that way. On June 23, 1883, Dr. Park was made professor of surgery in the University and shortly thereafter surgeon to the Buffalo General Hospital.

Thus began in Buffalo a citizenship as useful as its effect was far-reaching, a professorship that added luster not only to the University but to the nation, a comradeship that extended widely, making ties that shall continue while memory endures.

Dr. Park had married, in 1880, Martha Prudence Durkee, of Chicago. This lovely woman added greatly to the creation of a social center in which she equally with her husband radiated memorable hospitality and kindness. Few celebrities passed this way without finding a welcome in the Park household, and as his fame grew so increased the attraction of Buffalo for foreign savants. All movements for civic growth, in many of which he was chief, found in him efficient support. He was made president of all the prominent clubs, the various scientific societies, the musical organizations. A musician, composer and critic, he widely expanded the field for and made possible the enjoyment of good music. He was brigade surgeon in the National Guard, holding the rank of major. A singularly forceful and graceful writer, a cogent speaker, a resourceful organizer, he was at the head and in the heart of most that was good in Buffalo, for it was understood that his aid meant success.

His advent in Buffalo was opportune; it was the transitional period from old to new concepts in pathology, at the threshold of modern surgery. Together with Mann he re-educated the local medical profession and advanced greatly, through his sound pathology, novel teaching, operative skill and spreading fame, the reputation of the medical school. Thousands, not only his pupils, but active practitioners,

acknowledge to his influence a forward momentum hard to estimate.

He frequently visited American and foreign clinics, giving and receiving, while accumulating such a treasure of knowledge as is rarely attained. Above all he was studious; and his notion of recreation in Europe was an opportunity for further study. While not omitting the society of colleagues, who delighted in honoring him, while permitting himself to enjoy travel, music and galleries of art, his time was largely consumed in pathological museums, in libraries, in delving in out-of-the-way and much-forgotten sources of knowledge. When others sought rest in novelty, gaiety and change, Park could be found, often accompanied by that savant best informed, in storing his splendid mind with fresh material. As a result he became a sort of living encyclopedia to whom everyone turned. Some of this information he re-arranged and made available in books and addresses, much of it is left unsaid, yet it flashed out constantly and aptly in conversation and hence his envied companionship had inestimable charm and interest.

About the time that the meaning of his citizenship came to be appreciated in Buffalo, he was urged to return to Chicago to assume, in association with the late Nicholas Senn, the chair of surgery at Rush Medical College, made vacant by the death of that stalwart surgeon, Charles T. Parkes. Some of the telegrams exchanged between Dr. Park and his faithful friend, the late Dr. J. H. Etheridge, of Chicago, who refused to acknowledge defeat in his efforts to induce Dr. Park to accept the call, have a tinge of pathos in them. The first, dated March 28, 1891, read simply, "Parkes died this morning. Can I present your name as his successor? Biggest place in America today." The last in the exchange of telegrams between the two friends said: "My heart is broken. We will have you in a few years. I never abandoned anything more reluctantly. I love you very much."

The inducement was great, for it represented the leading position in the western metropolis, his former home and the scene of his early professional life. He went to Chicago to look over the situation, accompanied by his friend Charles Cary, who was determined that Dr. Park should remain in Buffalo. The advantages likely to grow out of his prosecuting the work so well begun were so attractively presented that to the joy and rather surprise of all, he remained with us. E. Carleton Sprague, Wilson S. Bissell, Frank H. Goodyear, Charles W. Goodyear, William H. Gratwick, Ansley Wilcox, Edmund Hayes, J. J. Albright, William A. Rogers, S. M. Clement, George P. Sawyer, and many other men had united in protestation against his leaving. Funds were raised for constructing a new clinic, designed for his needs, a model of beauty; in several other ways the city expressed its satisfaction with his final decision. This was not the first nor the last call that Dr. Park received to fill some great place, but removed from his beloved University of Buffalo. All honors which entailed his separation from that institution he declined.

While not perhaps among the conditions of his remaining here, it is an outstanding fact that chief of the reasons operating to keep him in Buffalo was the feeling that here was his supreme opportunity to be of service to his college by pointing out, in this unobtrusive yet effective way, its greatest need—a new building. Modestly he let it be known to those most anxious to keep him here that if the much-needed new college building should not in some way be secured, he should consider such a failure as a tacit admission that the school was content to go along as it had been doing, and that it was unreasonable to expect him to give up such a glowing future as was his for such an unenterprising institution. His attachment for the city of his adoption was such that in any case, whether his services were fully appreciated or not, he might not have chosen

to leave it. However that may be, the implied challenge was speedily accepted and its terms soon complied with, more successfully, perhaps, than those who had picked up the gauge dared to hope. As early as 1892 the commodious building now occupied by the medical college was completed by means of generous aid from the citizens, being formally dedicated in March, 1893.

The medical school is not the only department of the University owing to Dr. Park a considerable part of its success in overcoming obstacles which might have disheartened less persistent men. In an address at one of the Dental Department's earliest opening sessions he reviewed its history, mentioning the various efforts made to place it on an equality with the best schools of the country, but omitting any comment on his own contribution toward that end. Long a member of the dental faculty, as well as the medical, he was as anxious as any dentist for a building to house the new department, and his joy was great when, in 1896, he helped the school erect its own finely equipped building.

The characteristics of Dr. Park as a letter-writer are well illustrated, together with his never-failing loyalty to his university, in the letter written April 18, 1891, to Dr. E. L. Holmes, dean of Rush Medical College, declining the flattering invitation:

No one will ever know quite the mental struggle I have been through these last few days. On the one hand the brilliant prospect so attractively set before me in Chicago; on the other, my fondness for my home and surroundings here. The factor which has essentially decided me is practically this: For seven years I have worked hard to unify conflicting medical interests here, and to build up a university where we could teach medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, and law, and in time have an academic department. The first two departments are accomplished; the third and fourth I was made to feel could not be brought about in the visible future unless I remained. I have been astonished at the strong hold which I appear

to have on the citizens as well as on the profession here, and I felt it my duty to others to remain — and for this purpose.

In foregoing what you have offered I am making a large sacrifice, I realize full well, but I make it deliberately and from motives which I think no friend will question. So condemn my judgment, my taste, my business capability, if you will, but give me credit, I beg of you, for integrity of purpose and earnestness in my chosen work. And above all believe that I have a most profound and abiding sense of gratitude for and appreciation of the honor which Rush College has done me, coupled with a realization of my unfitness for the same; and also that no other motive than those which I have indicated has operated to influence my decision. I desire that Dr. Senn should know how gladly I would have worked with him, and that all of you should realize how pleasant to me would have been our association. With mingled and deep emotion, I must consequently write as I do.

Later he accepted an invitation to lecture at the Army Medical School at Washington, having been appointed honorary professor of surgery there, and served by President Roosevelt's appointment as one of the Board of Visitors at West Point Military Academy, thus betraying a long-continued interest in military affairs. When the Medical Reserve Corps was constituted he was naturally one of the first surgeons to receive appointment in this branch of the army. He responded cheerfully to almost numberless demands to address learned societies, and at no little sacrifice he contributed to the meetings of widely separated and less conspicuous county and city societies, medical and otherwise.

He was much interested in, and president of, the Medical Society of the State of New York. Of all his honors he apparently treasured most that of the presidency of the American Surgical Association. Dr. Park was the first and so far the only man to serve as surgeon-in-chief at the Buffalo General Hospital.

In 1895 he received from Harvard University the honorary degree of M. A. In 1902, Yale University, of which one of his ancestors was a founder, conferred upon him the

degree of LL.D. He was a member of the French Society of Surgery, the German Congress of Surgeons, the Italian Surgical Society, and various other foreign associations, being also the chairman of the American Committee of the International Society of Surgery, at the meetings of which, in Brussels, he was seldom absent and often contributed. When the Society decided to hold its triennial meeting of April, 1914, in New York, Dr. Park worked arduously until the end for the success of this notable gathering.

III

His interest in higher popular education for Buffalo took concrete form in oft-repeated endeavors to render the University of Buffalo, which for seventy years had been without an academic department, a complete university. For years he was a member of the Council of the University, and, in the words of the memorial drawn up by the Council: "It is not for us so much to measure Dr. Park's high service in this community as a public-spirited citizen, as a versatile yet profound toiler in scientific research, or as a writer whose world-wide fame has conferred distinction upon the home of his adoption, as to recognize and declare the great debt which the University owes him as its loyal and generous friend and constant and tireless champion. He shared our vicissitudes and aspirations for thirty years, and he lived to be able to say, as he did before this Council twelve hours before his death, that he rejoiced in the signs of our early consummation of the long-cherished hopes of the University's steadfast friends."

This last sentence from the Council's memorial was of course written with no thought that these hopes would so soon be realized with quite the adequacy with which they are now coming to a fruition. But like many prophecies, they were built on a foundation of confidence which was bound to have its reward. Poignant have been the regrets expressed

that Dr. Park could not have been spared for at least two years, to have seen the University finally take its stand where it belongs; but at least the satisfaction was his of having fought the good fight for years manfully and persistently, never descending, however great the provocation, to use weapons placed at his command by his natural adroitness but condemned by his conscientiousness and love of fair play. His championship of higher education for Buffalo in the last analysis rested on a thorough knowledge of the city's needs, gained from every-day contact with those whose means prohibited sending their children away to college; but it also arose from an oft-expressed conviction that nothing would so benefit the medical school and the University's other departments as the establishment of the department which would unify them all, by providing facilities for the better equipping of professional students in the humanities and general culture before they went on to specialize in their lifework.

In 1892 he gave at Philadelphia the Mütter Lectures on Surgical Pathology, published as a volume, a contribution, according to his surgical confreres, of lasting importance to the medical profession.

In 1905 he contributed a monograph of 300 pages on the Surgery of the Head and Brain; in 1897 a well-known text-book on the History of Medicine, based on lectures delivered in 1893 in the University of Buffalo, which was, according to its dedication to his colleagues in the medical faculty, the "first attempt in the medical schools of this country to give systematic instruction in the history of the science which they teach." He was the editor of and principal contributor to a two-volume text-book, "Surgery by American Authors," 1896 (three editions), and not long after a large text-book, his *magnum opus*, on General Surgery.

Besides these he wrote in the encyclopedias of surgery, pathology, and therapeutics enduring monographs, and

contributed extensively to current medical literature. The character of these writings may be judged from the selections republished in a recent memorial volume, while the variety of subjects that interested him will appear in the list of topics. Some of the best of his shorter essays, philosophic and historic in nature, are to be found in his book, "The Evil Eye and Other Essays" (1913, with a second edition in 1914). Numerous Buffalonians possess these essays which deserve to be in the library of each of us. Not alone because of the intellectual wealth shown by the writer, but because of the charm and style of the writing, the book will continue to be read and treasured. His books have been "sellers;" he was known as a wise and popular author; yet the best that he said was never written. His critical quality and deep knowledge were shown best in his clinical lectures, which were of unrivaled strength, simplicity and interest. Of his teaching, one of his pupils, Dr. Thomas H. McKee, now Dean of the Medical Department of the University, said at the memorial meeting of the Buffalo Academy of Medicine:

Men of the highest intellectual attainments in their several departments have often been found to be the very worst teachers. They were bad teachers for two reasons: First, nature had never intended them for the work and had not endowed them with the proper qualifications; secondly, they knew too much of their subject. They had progressed too far from their initial plans of development ever to return to the student's level, to regain his point of view and appreciate his difficulties.

Not so with Roswell Park. His presentation of any subject was always a model of orderly clearness. He had the rare and happy faculty of selecting the essentials of his topic and the ability to adhere to it, driving straight to his goal without diverting into the byways, however fascinating and alluring the flowery perspective might be. Those of us who have been privileged to sit at his feet, to drink at the fountain of his knowledge and to analyze his mental processes have never ceased to marvel at the facility with which he made simplicity and orderly procedure handmaidens of his fullness of knowledge.

Let us hope that some time in the distant future, which, judging by the recent past, must hold so much in store, there shall be found a more accurate and delicate method of valuation for human effort than is known today, even so that it shall become possible to estimate the force of men's unconscious teachings; for then it will be found that the finest achievements, the most valued and far-reaching influences that have gone from the world's great teachers, like this man, have been unconscious emanations from their personal characters, not unlike those weird and awe-inspiring waves of energy that radiate from that inscrutable element in which he was so profoundly interested.

The simplicity and orderly method, and withal the dignity which invested his work, produced results of incalculably greater value than the mere technical knowledge which he imparted by tongue and voice.

We who, by virtue of our special training, of our special knowledge, are privileged to see clearly the forces that play within and without the profession, can say without hesitation that the most valuable service which he rendered to the community in which he elected to carry the burden of life, the greatest asset which he has left to them, was not to be found in the technical triumphs of his art, but in his exemplification of a standard of ethical conduct which shall be a rule and a guide for those of good repute as long as the name of Boswell Park is remembered among men.

Nor is there any doubt that he unconsciously set up in the hearts of hundreds and hundreds of young men who came under his magnetic influence, a standard of conduct which, when the time inevitably comes when they are tempted to depart from the street called straight, will constrain them to pause, to listen to a still small voice within that shall say, "Have a care. Park would not have done this."

Even today who can believe that in that vast assemblage which paid him tribute in Trinity Church there was one so intellectually and spiritually bereft that he did not go home with the lesson sinking deep into his soul — that to lead such a life and to earn such a tribute is well worth while. Still the great teacher, even though dead — nay, not dead, for a wise and purposeful nature never designed a light like that to be snuffed out — he has only solved the great mystery a little before the rest of us.

At times profoundly serious, if need be, sternly admonitory, with an occasional glittering of pricking irony, Dr. Park was absolutely fair, just and tolerant. With an ever-present fund of humor, with anecdotes notorious and

à propos, repartee brilliant and telling, he was the inspiration of a company, the joy of his companions, and when occasion required a fortress against antagonists.

In 1901 the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo attracted universal attention to the city. Dr. Park was made medical director of the Exposition, of its sanitation, its hospitals, and its medical staff. The character of the work done again showed his ability. On that fateful day when the beloved McKinley was stricken at the Temple of Music, the instant demand was for Dr. Park, and dismay was felt when it became known that it would require hours before he could reach the President. In the need of immediate operation, Dr. Mann was called upon and performed the work with accustomed skill. Upon his return, Dr. Park was associated and to the last, with the assistance of Mynter, General Rixey, McBurney, Janeway and others, did all in human power to avert the catastrophe which the autopsy later proved to be inevitable. To Dr. Park the disappointment was almost overwhelming, one from which he suffered keenly while life remained to him. The tone of the hundreds of communications which he received during that trying week is illustrated in the telegram received from the late Dr. Musser of Philadelphia, which said simply, "We are all so glad you are on hand."

An abstract from the memorial volume of Selected Papers, Surgical and Scientific, is here introduced, partly because it illustrates the character of the lamented President, partly because it gives an insight to the deeper sentiment of Roswell Park:

To return to the patient. He bore his illness and such pain as he suffered with beautiful, unflinching and Christian fortitude, and no more tractable or agreeable patient was ever in charge of his physicians. No harsh word or complaint against his assassin was ever heard to pass his lips. As the days went by, the peculiarity of his Christian character became ever more apparent, and was particularly noticeable at the last, up to the very moment of his lapsing into un-

consciousness. Up to this time I had hardly ever believed that a man could be a good Christian and a good politician. His many public acts showed him to be the latter, while the evidence of his real Christian spirit was most impressive during his last days. His treatment of Mrs. McKinley during the many trying experiences which he had with her fortified a gentleness in his manly character, while the few remarks or expressions which escaped from him during his last hours stamped him as essentially a Christian in the highest and most lovable degree.

One great aim of his life, to know the nature of cancer, was fated not to be realized, although he strove hard to attain it. This led to the establishment, first in the University of Buffalo, of the Gratwick Laboratory, which became in 1911 the New York State Laboratory and Hospital for the Study of Malignant Diseases. In face of discouragement he pressed forward investigation in this and other institutions. He was among the first in the knowledge of tumors and called to the attention of the country the fact, long contested, that cancer is steadily upon the increase. "Dr. Park has done more work and better work than any other person in America in this direction," said Dr. W. W. Keen, "and his work has not only met with great encouragement and recognition abroad but is recognized as being as good as any done there."

Dr. Park had extraordinary self-control. He never lost his temper, was kind, obliging and helpful, yet there was about him always a degree of reserve, of personal dignity, that dampened over-familiarity. He had a quiet but lasting contempt for pretense and sentimentality, for cant and effusiveness. The thoughtless and unacquainted attributed this to coldness, but they were mistaken. A warm heart glowed, a generous hand was outstretched behind this veil of reserve. Not infrequently he was the victim of ingratitude and often was disappointed in his efforts to assist, yet he remained approachable and forgiving.

A man so singularly endowed, so unafraid and indomitable, could not escape adversities; the strong light in which

he moved was sure to produce shadows. When the art was practiced by few, he relieved by intubation a physician's child dying of diphtheria, but thereby became himself infected. A terrific laryngeal stenosis threatened his life for days and apparently left him prone to subsequent infections. This was the beginning of a series of grave illnesses, resulting from infection, always while operating; one peril with fierce suffering was surmounted, soon to be faced by another which only enormous vitality could have overcome. He underwent numerous operations and endured endless pain which few suspected, and pushed his tasking life so cheerfully that the concealment was rarely penetrated.

In 1899 he lost his devoted wife and thenceforth knew the bitterness of separation. Still more completely he immersed himself in work, operating by day, studying and writing by night. He was compelled from his disability to avoid active exercise, and most people have forgotten his former activity in the Athletic Club, his powers with single-stick and enjoyment of open-air sport. He held the appearance of physical power, and misled the community as to this the more readily because of the force of his mind and his willingness to undertake new responsibilities which were executed so manfully and splendidly.

A quarter of a century had rolled by since he came to Buffalo, and in celebration of the event a testimonial dinner was arranged by his friends and colleagues. The resources of the Iroquois were fully taxed, yet the hotel honored itself on the occasion, for in the great banquet hall were seated a very notable assemblage, including, beside the best-known Buffalonians, scores of men famed for achievement, from all parts of the nation. Richardson from Boston, Mayo from Minnesota, Billings, McArthur and Bevan from Chicago, Dennis and Brewer from New York, Welch from Baltimore, Matas from New Orleans, Crile from Cleveland, were among the number who with eloquence and en-

thusiasm honored Dr. Park as a foremost American surgeon. This was a social event not to be forgotten, and its meaning was understood and deeply felt by Dr. Park. He was especially pleased to have at his side his two sons, Roswell and Julian, as participants in his happiness. The Roswell Park Medical Club, an association of his former students, was named in his honor only a few years after he had come to Buffalo, and it is still in prosperous existence, celebrating its quarter-centenary with a dinner tendered Dr. Park only the week before his death.

The International Congress on School Hygiene convened in Buffalo in the summer of 1913, and he was the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. The unquestioned success of the great congress depended in no small part upon his executive ability. This was his last great work, and following it the evidences of cardiac disability from which he had recently suffered demanded attention. After a rest he returned to hospital and college service, apparently rejuvenated, performing many operations in which, as of old, was displayed fine judgment and matchless skill. To the protestations of those nearest to him and of his devoted associate, Dr. Edgar R. McGuire, urging more rest, he used to quote a favorite aphorism, "Destiny reserves for us repose enough." Smilingly, efficiently, and in detail he performed his round of duties; he was constantly thoughtful of the welfare of others; his obligations and responsibilities were nowhere forgotten. Thus "He had adorned and hid the coming bulk of death." He was not himself deceived as to his real state of health and prepared accordingly.

Early in the morning of February 15, 1914, after a short attack of syncope, as he would have wished he passed quietly away. He confessed to a friend that for fifteen years he had been forced to spend one-seventh of his working time in bed.

The life of Roswell Park was so full and rich, his accomplishments so large and many, that it will remain an example of usefulness; yet there can be no doubt that numerous high enterprises, planned for the future of his university, hospital and city, were held back because of his lack of strength and time to carry them to completion.

The citizens of Buffalo owe to his memory the fulfillment of his designs.

Surely the University of Buffalo, when it has developed as he had planned that it should, cannot forget what it owes to his effort and his faith.

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COMPILED BY JULIAN PARK.

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ERNEST WENDE:

A MEMOIR

BY ADELBERT MOOT



ERNEST WENDE. M. D.

From the painting by E. Berenice, presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by Grover Wende, M. D.

ERNEST WENDE: A MEMOIR¹

BY ADELBERT MOOT

Dr. Ernest Wende was born July 23, 1853, and died in this city February 11, 1910, with an established international reputation as a master in the application of the principles of modern, scientific, preventive medicine to human life in a great city. Over thirteen years of his professional life he was the Health Commissioner of Buffalo, his first term beginning in 1892, and ending in July, 1902, and his second term beginning in 1907 and ending with his death in 1910.

When he first took office, under one of our most efficient and respected mayors, Charles Bishop, in 1892, under our revised charter, as the first health commissioner installed under it, he took office in a city in which up to that time the doctor appointed to take charge of medical matters in the city had always been appointed for political reasons, and the natural consequence was that the office had been treated more or less as a political sinecure. Because this had been so, in the revised charter it was provided that, for the munificent salary of \$4,000 a year, the Health Commissioner was to give his whole time to the reorganized Health Department of the City of Buffalo. Had not the then Corporation Counsel officially advised the Mayor that the true construction of the full time condition did not require the appointed Health Commissioner to give up private practice altogether, but all that it required was that he should give the first place to the demands of his office,

1. Paper read at a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, Tuesday evening, April 18, 1916.

even if it should take his full time to discharge the duties of the office, so that there would be no time left to continue his private practice, it would have been impossible for Mayor Bishop to have obtained the consent of Dr. Ernest Wendé, or any other first-class doctor, to become Health Commissioner; for Dr. Ernest Wendé was seeking the appointment of another prominent doctor, and that prominent doctor was opposed by still another doctor, equally prominent, with such vigor that Mayor Bishop, with the assent of all concerned, except Dr. Wendé, suggested that the appointment of Dr. Wendé would end all factional differences in the medical profession, and would at the same time give the city a first-class, up-to-date Health Commissioner. At first, Dr. Wendé strongly demurred to this suggestion, but ultimately the Mayor and his friends among the doctors from both sides finally induced him to withdraw his opposition and to consent to take the office, on the basis of the official full-time opinion of the Corporation Counsel, as stated.

While there has been a general appreciation of the wonderful preventive medical work done by Dr. Wendé in his two terms of office, perhaps there has been no statement of it as a whole that has given an adequate view of the permanent results of putting this extraordinarily capable and efficient man and doctor into this office nearly twenty-five years ago. Few even of his professional brothers in this city realize that the almost revolutionary, but thoroughly scientific, methods he introduced into the office, the thoroughly non-political and efficient organization he made of it back in 1892, and the extraordinary vigor he then injected into it, have continued to dominate it, in the main, during all these years. It is unfortunately true that, for purely political reasons, he was not reappointed in 1902, although the best citizens of all parties urged his reappointment, and since his death, in recent years outside politicians and officials

have successfully brought great pressure, even official pressure from his superiors, to bear upon his present successor in office to find places in the department for their friends or political adherents. But even today the Commissioner of Health and the chiefs of bureaus in the main are men selected and trained by Dr. Wende. His scientific methods are still employed, and generally the results are still good, although the unnecessary addition of some unfit political men and women has added to the expense; the expense for the last fiscal year under Dr. Wende, which ended July 1, 1909, being \$91,392.42, while the expense for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1915, was \$195,134.09.

In spite of like political and personal requests in his day, Dr. Wende rigidly adhered to the Civil Service Law, and took the first man on the list, regardless of politics. It is true, the bad preference clause of the Civil Service Act once compelled Dr. Wende to take the second man, a veteran, with the result that he had to discharge him for good cause within two years. Still his present successor in office, and all those under him, when let alone, so thoroughly appreciate the soundness of the organization first given the office by Dr. Wende, that they, in turn, are solicitous to maintain, and even increase, its reputation for efficiency, a thing that can only be done by rigidly excluding all personal and political considerations from its administration; for such considerations have no place when the health of people is concerned.

The year before Dr. Wende took office, the death rate of the city was nearly 24 per 1,000, and so efficient was Dr. Wende's attack upon diseases along the line of scientific medicine, that within one year he had substantially reduced this death rate to about 14 per 1,000, and from that time down to the last full year Dr. Wende held office as Health Commissioner, the death rate of Buffalo was firmly held to from some fraction above 13 per 1,000 to 15 per 1,000.

In other words, upon the basis of the last census before he took office, the deaths among 255,664 people were 6,001, or about $23\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000, and the deaths the last year he held office were 6,111 for 415,532 people, or 14.7 per 1,000.

How did Dr. Wendé so suddenly bring about such a great decrease in the death rate of Buffalo, and how did he continue, and how have the men and methods he installed continued, to maintain such a favorable death rate, in spite of a very large foreign population, a majority of whom are very ignorant of laws of health and their application to caring for human life, when they come to this city? So generally was it recognized from the beginning that Buffalo was not a city in which it was probable that any such great change could be brought about in the health of the city, that at first statisticians of great universities challenged these three unrivalled American figures in cutting down the death rate of a great city; but Dr. Wendé gladly welcomed such criticisms and arguments, because they gave to him and his scientific assistants the opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of their scientific methods and the correctness of their statistical records.

Going over these figures, I have reached the conclusion that on any reasonable basis of calculation for the substantially twenty-five years since these scientific medical methods were introduced, they have saved the citizens of Buffalo substantially 75,000 premature deaths, and have given to the children since born, as well as adults, an increased expectancy of life averaging several years in the case of every citizen. The people in particular who have profited by this great change have been the great masses of our population who have not sufficient wealth to employ the most expert physicians, or to avail themselves of the most expert nursing in their own homes. To these masses of people, the reorganized Health Department brought and has continued to furnish scientific medical treatment and

advice generally as good as, and often better than, that enjoyed by wealthy people who have not always shown as good judgment as the head of the Health Department showed in selecting medical and nursing aids and applying modern, scientific, medical methods to the treatment of disease.

In considering Dr. Wende's life, I want to point out now that it was no accident that he accomplished these results, but that they were the natural result of the most thorough scientific preparation of a naturally able young man for the practice of his profession along the most modern and scientific lines, and the faithful adherence of that man in office to the principles of Civil Service Reform. Had not Dr. Wende had natural ability of a very high order, had he not been thoroughly prepared along the most advanced scientific lines for his task, and had he not entered upon the discharge of his official duties with the desire to do his utmost for the public health of the City of Buffalo, and with political intelligence enough to know he could not do that unless he appointed his assistants and subordinates for merit alone, and, above all, had he not had indomitable courage and persistence in his great task, the results he accomplished would have been absolutely impossible for him or any other man in the same high position.

Dr. Wende's inheritance, his early life, his education, and his early professional training and experience, all alike fitted him most naturally and completely to do for Buffalo the great and permanent work he did for Buffalo in his Health Department. His father was a comparatively short but sturdy man, who had had a superior education, and who, preferring the freedom and independence of the country to any occupation in the city, had become the owner of a large farm some miles east of Buffalo, at a place on the New York Central Railroad still known as Wende Station. The father was of the philosophical, far-sighted,

broad-minded type, who thoroughly appreciated the importance of giving each of his children a good education and a good chance in life. He was not a man to worry over trifles, although he was not a man who would neglect important matters. The mother, born, reared and educated at a time when there were no colleges for women, and when anything more than an ordinary education was thought quite unnecessary for a woman, had not had the father's educational advantages. Nevertheless, this mother, tall, lithe, straight, and possessed of dynamic energy and indomitable will, was a woman of very strong character. Self-reliant, industrious, energetic, frugal, resourceful, and a person who drove work instead of letting work drive her, it was natural that the children of this mother should inherit qualities that would be invaluable to them in after life, when we add to these qualities the development they received in the home of such a father and such a mother. Dr. Ernest Wende was the eldest of their ten children, nine boys and a girl, all of whom grew to adult years, the mother and seven of her children still surviving. These children have all become citizens of unusual character and value in the communities in which they live. In considering educational advantages, too often the advantages of such a home on a large farm in the country are quite overlooked. Much is now made, and properly made, of vocational education and training, but I have yet to see any vocational school equal to a large and busy farm, presided over by the right father and the right mother, as a school in which to develop courage, resourcefulness, industry and capacity. The enervating effect of riches and luxury is entirely removed from such a farm, and upon it are produced no false distinctions as to labor, or classes, or either vested or Divine rights.

In the days of Dr. Wende's boyhood, many changes that have since taken place on the farm to make life easier were

entirely unknown. Then, as soon as the boys were large enough, they were called, in the busy season from early Spring until early Fall, at four, or five, or six o'clock, as the case might be, to get an early start to Buffalo with the farm produce, or it might be they were even started the night before, that they might be there in time for the opening of market in the morning. The market thus gave them good schooling in salesmanship and business methods, and then at home there were wood fires to build, cows to be fed and milked, horses and other live stock to be fed and cared for, stables to be cleaned, wood to be cut and brought in, other chores to do, horses to harness, or oxen to be yoked, fields to plow or harrow or sow, fields to plant or cultivate or hoe, hay and grain to be gathered into barns or stacks, threshing to do, potatoes to dig and crops to market, fences to build or mend, sugar bushes to tap, sap to gather, syrup or sugar to be prepared and marketed, fruit trees to be trimmed, fruit to be picked and gathered to cellars or carried to market, farm animals to be cared for in sickness or accident, colts or steers to be broken and trained for service, additional buildings erected, buildings to be repaired. ox-bows to make, plow-points to be sharpened, harnesses to repair or to oil, and other things, great and small, to do, small enough for the smallest hands, and large enough for full physical and mental power. A boy who is trained in such a school, who knows what it is to contend with a high-strung colt, not yet fully trained, or how to drive a team of oxen so they will not pull down a gate, or how to handle a flock of stupid sheep so as to finally land them in the enclosure intended, not to mention many other difficult tasks imposed on him by storm and wind and severe seasons where he must act alone upon his own courage, resourcefulness and responsibility, has learned lessons of self-control, courage and resourcefulness that are fully equal to any-

thing he will afterwards learn in school, high school or college.

Without recounting the things to be done in a farmhouse equally numerous and equally helpful in the days when farm produce brought but a small price, and when a farmer owning a large farm had need of a frugal wife if he was to raise and educate a large family, it is sufficient to say that Dr. Wende had this invaluable training in his home and upon the farm until he entered the Medical School in Buffalo. Incidentally, of course, he went to the district school, which is one of the best schools ever known for children, or one of the worst, according to the teacher employed. As soon as he was ready for the city high school, he came to the only high school in this city, from which he was graduated in due season. From the high school he went to the Buffalo Medical School, which then required only two years, two comparatively short sessions, and would now be considered so inadequate that it would not be permitted to exist in a vast majority of the States of this country, although it was then as good as or better than the majority of medical schools of this country. But Dr. Wende even then understood that its training was not sufficient, and consequently he took a post-graduate course for more than a year at one of the best medical schools in the country at that time, the School of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York. Then he came back to Erie County, went into the practice of medicine with Dr. Cornwell, a fine old-school physician, in the village of Alden. At that time, Dr. Wende married a real helpmate, and he soon prospered in his country practice. After a few years of this practice and prosperity, considering his medical and other training still insufficient, he went to Pennsylvania University, where he greatly distinguished himself in scientific and also medical work in two different Departments of that University, from which he received an M. D. in 1884,

the degree of B.S. in 1885, and in addition the George Woods' Alumni prize of \$500 upon his work and thesis upon the geology of Western New York.

But he was not content with even that, and he, therefore, took his wife and went to Germany to spend the balance of what they had laid aside by frugality, while he studied the most scientific methods of medicine, under such masters as Koch, who was then the leader of the medical world in applying in medicine Pasteur's discoveries concerning bacteria in the vegetable and domestic animal world. As the result of more than a year spent in studying with Koch and other masters in Berlin and Vienna in the then developing field of the germ theory of disease, Dr. Wende returned to this country and opened his office for the practice of medicine in Buffalo, in 1887. Down to that time, the vast majority of the medical profession knew nothing of bacteria or germs, and spoke with derision of bug doctors; indeed, for many years later this was true of the great majority of the medical profession.

But all this affected Dr. Wende not at all, for he was sure of his foundation, and always had the courage of his convictions. At that time, it is very certain there was no doctor in or near Buffalo so thoroughly or scientifically trained in the modern history of disease as was Dr. Wende. It was after practicing his profession in Buffalo from 1887 to 1892, and after showing in the Medical School and in his hospital connections and consultation work how practical and valuable his ideas were, that Mayor Bishop chose him for the important work of Health Commissioner. At the time he was chosen for this work, his reputation was such that eminent authorities in Europe were from time to time sending their patients who came to this country to Dr. Wende, for consultations and continued treatment, some of these eminent patients journeying from New York to Buffalo for the express purpose of consulting Dr.

Wende, because they were told to do so by their doctors in Europe.

But how did Dr. Wende so suddenly and so quickly reduce the death rate in Buffalo? He at once installed Dr. Bissell as bacteriologist, in spite of the ridicule of aldermen and others, and when an epidemic of typhoid fever commenced in the early Spring, he consulted our imperfect records and found that there had been an epidemic of typhoid fever every Spring for many years. His training told him the water was probably at fault, and he had Dr. Bissell analyze the water for bacteria and discovered that it was unfit to drink; that it was no better than the water procured from the harbor, when analyzed; in fact, water from the harbor and water from the faucets seemed to be exactly the same water. Being advised by a legal friend as to the course to pursue, he talked with the then head of the Water Bureau, discovered that it was the custom in the Spring to open the Bird Island Inlet, because of difficulty with anchor-ice in the river tunnel in the Spring of the year, and thus he learned that the people were, in fact, drinking harbor water at the time typhoid fever became epidemic every Spring, for he found this had been done every Spring. He insisted that this should be discontinued at once, no matter what the cost because of anchor-ice, and the Mayor and head of the Water Bureau, being somewhat reluctant to follow his advice, were more or less coerced into doing so by his suggestion that he must appeal to the public through the newspapers, if necessary, to effect this reform. Not only was the Bird Island Inlet closed, but it was sealed for all time, and thus disappeared the cause of a great number of deaths from typhoid fever each Spring because of this practice, due to ignorance of medical facts then just becoming generally known. To make certain that it would disappear, Dr. Wende had the water turned off in each of the then reservoirs of the city,

and had these reservoirs most thoroughly cleansed and disinfected with most powerful disinfectants before he would again permit water to be stored in them for drinking purposes.

But he did not stop here. He knew that all over the city down to that time were wells, public and private, that were in common use, that were more or less contaminated from privy vaults and other sources of disease, and he knew, furthermore, that there were immense numbers of privy vaults in use that had no connection whatever with sewers. The result was, he labored with the Aldermen, the Council and the Mayor until he got through an ordinance to correct this state of affairs, and then, inside of the first year, he caused to be inspected and discontinued more than 15,000 private privy vaults; a necessary part of the work being putting in and connecting sewers or plumbing, as necessary, to take the place of the privy vaults. All wells, public and private, were discontinued at the same time, that the people might not drink dangerous water.

If scarlet fever, typhoid fever, or any such disease, appeared anywhere, it had to be reported at once, the house to be placarded, its plumbing and surroundings to be inspected, and, if necessary, an inspector went far into the country to examine into the conditions under which the milk was produced that was sold along the milk route where the scarlet fever or other disease he knew likely to follow contaminated milk, had been discovered.

If diphtheria was discovered, his inspectors were at once at the place where it was discovered, to ascertain its probable cause, and changes in the premises or plumbing were required, even if the citizen was as prominent as Mr. Milburn was; for when diphtheria was discovered in Mr. Milburn's home, Mr. Milburn facetiously remarked to a friend that Dr. Wende was a perfect little czar in the way he took charge of such matters and in the requirements he

made. In one case a leading church was the offender as to the condition of premises owned by it, and its priest, used to having his own way, appeared at the Commissioner's office to turn his requirements aside. The Doctor listened patiently and good naturedly, and then asked the priest whether he would obey his requirements. The priest answered "No." The Doctor quietly turned to an assistant present and asked if he had heard what the priest said in answer to the Doctor's question. The assistant answering in the affirmative, the Doctor quietly directed him, in the presence of the priest, to swear out a warrant for the priest's arrest. Instantly, the priest, discovering that he had a type of official quite out of the ordinary to deal with, became respectful and obedient, as is the custom of his church, and began to inquire of the Doctor if they could not reach some reasonable adjustment of the matter; the end naturally being that the priest was convinced the Doctor's requirements, to begin with, were reasonable; and, therefore, the priest promised to comply with them within a reasonable time.

There is not time to go into all the incidents that tell so well the common-sense, directness, courage, and sound medical judgment involved in the reforms that Dr. Wendé brought about, but a few were of such a far-reaching character that they should be mentioned.

When the Honorable Tom Johnson was Mayor of Cleveland, and in the zenith of his popularity and power there, it was well known that he was an anti-vaccinationist, the anti-vaccination doctrine having made great headway at that time. In due time it became known that there was a good deal of smallpox in Cleveland during Mayor Johnson's administration, and Dr. Wendé thought the matter so serious that he went there himself to see if the rumors were well founded. He had a good deal of difficulty in getting Mayor Johnson's permission to investigate for himself, but

the suggestion that he would have to quarantine against Cleveland unless he was permitted to investigate, finally caused the Mayor to assent to his investigation. He found the health officer of Cleveland to be a very good doctor, but a man quite as lacking in backbone as many such men are. After Dr. Wende had discovered many, many cases of smallpox, the Doctor admitted their situation, but confidentially said he was powerless to do anything with the Mayor. Thereupon, Dr. Wende returned to Mayor Johnson and told him what he had seen with his own eyes, and that they had at that time undoubtedly hundreds of cases of smallpox in Cleveland; for it was discovered afterwards that during this epidemic Cleveland had over 2,000 such cases. Still, Mayor Johnson suggested to Dr. Wende that he was not Health Commissioner of Cleveland, and the matter was not within his jurisdiction. To this Dr. Wende answered that if that was the view that was to be taken in the matter, he would at once place inspectors on the docks and in the depots in which trains from Cleveland would arrive; that he would turn back people, or even boats or trains, if necessary if a clean bill of health could not be given; that he would himself telegraph to the health officers of other neighboring cities, like Detroit, what he found the situation to be; that he would give a full statement of the matter to the Associated Press, and Cleveland would soon find out that she could not ignore the rest of the world, if she was keeping secret the fact that she had smallpox, or yellow fever, or any other contagious disease dangerous to human life. Dr. Wende did not find it necessary to do these things, because Mayor Johnson at once saw the point and agreed in all Dr. Wende's reasonable requests about vaccination, local quarantine, and everything else, to save his city from such a fate; his anti-vaccination theories going into a state of suspended animation for the time being.

Dr. Wendé was an expert in the use of the microscope, and he made much use of it in his work. It was through the microscope that he first learned that it was impossible to properly cleanse the tube of the long-necked nursing bottle then so popular and so universally used. Having found out another source through which the lives of great numbers of small children were lost, through milk contaminated from the infected long rubber neck of such bottles, he paid out a considerable sum of his own money to have slides made from which he could make it perfectly clear to legislators that the use of such bottles should be prohibited. Of course the manufacturers of such bottles, and the druggists who sold them, did not view this attack with complacency, but the Doctor had such a reputation for understanding his business, and his pictures were so effective, that he carried the day, and obtained the legislation he wanted. By this time the germ theory of disease had ceased to be a novelty, bug-hunting doctors were no longer sneered at, and the result was that within six months from the time the Doctor carried his point in legislation, not a single long-necked nursing bottle could be found in any drug store in the City of Buffalo, after the most careful and well-planned attempt of the Doctor to find one. This reform was not only a local and a State reform, but in a very short time it was a National, if not an international, reform, and I dare say it is many years since any person has seen a long-necked infant's bottle anywhere for sale.

At first, Dr. Wendé encountered opposition from not only the politicians and the uninformed public, but often a great majority of his own profession vigorously opposed his proposed reforms. All this made no difference to him, for he was absolutely impersonal in his fighting, and friend or foe had to get out of the way sooner or later, if Dr. Wendé began to push a reform, for he got his material first, and soon demonstrated that it was of such a scientific

character that no one could successfully withstand his attacks.

One of the last of his reforms was that with reference to contagious diseases. At the time this last reform was commenced, no hospital in Buffalo had any accommodations of any size for contagious diseases. The Doctor, therefore, began to agitate for a city hospital that would treat nothing but contagious diseases. He soon got a majority to agree with him that there should be such a hospital, but when he began the location of it, whatever ward he proposed it for, the Aldermen and residents of that ward at once rose up in all their might and opposed it, on the real ground, of course, that it would be destructive to the value of their property, although other grounds were quite as often urged, while nothing was said about this one. Then it occurred to Dr. Wendé that the schoolhouse of School 41, at Broadway and Spring Street, a schoolhouse that had been abandoned as unfit for school purposes, could be made over into such a hospital, and an epidemic of scarlet fever occurring at just this time, gave the Doctor the power to take possession of this schoolhouse and convert it into a temporary hospital of the character he wanted. At that time he did not intend to make this a permanent hospital, but only intended to clean it and repair it so that it could be used for this temporary purpose. The opposition from the various Aldermen, however, making it impossible to locate such a hospital anywhere else, the Doctor improved, repaired, and rebuilt as he could; and the result is, that continuing his methods to the present day, this old school building, which remains only as to its walls, has been converted into one of the most up-to-date contagious-disease hospitals to be found anywhere in this country. It has beds for 150 patients; was opened February 19, 1909; and since that time 5,008 cases of contagious diseases have been there treated. The result is that the people generally, and the masses in par-

ticular, now have a hospital to which a member of the family can be sent, thus saving the rest of the family, or a school, it may be, from the danger incident to permitting a contagious disease to be at large. Transients in hotels, or wealthy people, too, can go to this hospital, have a private room, and receive proper care for a reasonably moderate amount. The various diseases are scientifically isolated from each other, and now no one on the outside would think of suggesting that this hospital for contagious diseases affects the value of property about it. Most appropriately, since Dr. Wende's death, his hospital has been named "The Ernest Wende Hospital," and in it we have a fitting monument to his last permanent reform of conditions for the benefit of the masses of his beloved city.

Of course Dr. Wende's family and friends will realize how many important incidents, and even reforms, remain unmentioned by me, but no one will know better than his family and friends that to mention them all might require a volume. Nor have I more than hinted at the way he carried the duties of his office with him, in season and out of season, night and day, week days and Sundays, when he went to other cities, and when he was at home. His ambition always was to keep Buffalo in the very front of the procession of great cities in its healthfulness. His constant study was to prevent premature death, and save more and more of human suffering and human life. Even when he knew an as yet incurable malady had seized him, because the as yet only known remedy, surgery, had been tried and had failed, he continued to have daily reports made to him, and he continued to supervise the work of his public office from his room of sickness. Nor did he abate his interest or his work for his city until he was removed by death.

This bare sketch of Dr. Wende's life has been necessarily confined to a few more or less well-known incidents in his thorough education and training for his profession, and his

career as a public official that afterwards came to him. The permanent value of his scientific and often pioneer work for the health of the public was the natural result of thoroughly trained native ability working unselfishly along true scientific lines. His methods and his work were soon well known and often repeated in large cities and towns all over the civilized world. In particular, in Germany, where so much of his valuable scientific training was obtained, his name, like that of his neighbor and friend, Dr. Park, became well known to his profession. In this country, in particular, many of the scientific methods first employed here by him have been used by other large cities with such success that many of them, being otherwise favored, are now sometimes a little ahead of Buffalo in their death rate. It is doubtful if any of our citizens, even the two distinguished citizens who became Presidents, have done public work of more permanent value, certainly no citizen has done public work of more permanent value for the masses of our city. With Dr. Wende, as with all other men, his true monument is this public work he did to help mankind.

In this sketch I have but barely suggested his scientific work with the microscope, his helpful work in our Medical School, his hearty co-operation in the work in our hospitals, and his learning, skill and judgment in consultations and private practice. An outline of the chronology of his life, prepared by Dr. Wende himself for a friend a few years before his death, outlines his training and career thus:

Ernest Wende, physician; born at Mill Grove, N. Y., July 23, 1853; son of Bernard A. and Susan W.; graduate of the University of Buffalo, Medical Department, 1878; special course, Columbia, 1881-2; married Aug. 25, 1881, Frances Harriet Cutler; graduate of University of Pa., M. D., 1884, B. Sc., 1885; special course, Berlin, Vienna, 1885-6; Prof. Dermatology Medical Dep't, Univ. of Buffalo; botany and microscopy, Coll. of Pharmacy, same; Health

Commissioner, Buffalo, 1891-1902; member Am. Micros. Soc., Pan-Am. Med. Assn., Am. Public Health Assn.; Fellow Electro-Therapeutic Assn. (Pres. 1901); Royal Micros. Soc., England; N. Y. State Med. Soc.; Supreme Pres. Order of the Iroquois.

This sketch of his life is necessarily quite inadequate, but I have at least hinted at the worth of the man and his work. In private life, Dr. Wendé was a man of simple, unpretentious habits, of direct purpose and method. He was a genial, loyal son and brother; an affectionate, devoted and loyal husband and father; a loyal, patriotic and public-spirited citizen. He might have made a fortune in money, but he cared so much for his profession, his city, and the welfare of mankind, and was so intent on bettering human conditions and human healthfulness, that money never seemed to be any object to him. To his family and his friends he left, however, a memory and a reputation that transcends any money value.

**THE WOMEN'S
EDUCATIONAL AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION
OF BUFFALO**

COMPILED BY

MRS. FREDERICK J. SHEPARD



ARTS DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO.
Former home of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION OF BUFFALO

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No philanthropy in Buffalo has had a more honorable career, and none a more far-reaching influence, than the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Many important reforms concerning women and children have been accomplished either wholly or in part, through its efforts, and it is thought a summary of its history should have a permanent place among local records. Such an organization as the Union had long been a dream of one of Buffalo's most public-spirited women; and when, in response to the invitation of the Literary Club of the Church of the Messiah, Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz, President of the Boston Union, visited Buffalo in 1884, it was the needed torch which lighted the flame of enthusiasm. With almost prophetic vision Mrs. Diaz beheld what might be accomplished in a growing city like Buffalo by a non-sectarian organization which should include all classes and conditions of women. On February 2, 1884, under the auspices of the Charity Organization Society, Mrs. Diaz made an address in Concert Hall on "Women's Unions in our Cities." At its conclusion Mr. J. N. Larned offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this meeting that there should be organized in Buffalo a Women's Union for promoting the material,

moral and intellectual welfare of the women of our city; that such organization should be wholly independent of creeds and nationalities, and that this undertaking should include nothing that touches upon teachings or beliefs in religion.

RESOLVED, That the following-named ladies be appointed a committee to take steps towards the formation of the Union proposed, and that they be requested to meet at the Fitch Institute, corner Swan and Michigan streets on Tuesday, February 5th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The committee referred to represented all the principal religious denominations in the city. In response to an invitation sent out by the Charity Organization Society the meeting was attended by women prominent in literary, social and philanthropic circles, and a temporary organization was affected by the appointment of Mrs. George W. Townsend as chairman, Mrs. Lily Lord Tifft as Secretary, and a nominating committee. A week later (February 13), sixty women met at the home of Mrs. James B. Parke and elected permanent officers and a board of directors. A constitution and by-laws, modeled after those of the Boston Union, were adopted, and committees were appointed to have charge of Finance, Social Affairs, Hygiene and Physical Culture, Education, Employment, Library and Protection. Protestant, Roman Catholic and Hebrew joined hands on these committees as well as on the board of directors, to work on a broad basis and on lines never before attempted in Buffalo. The Charity Organization Society gave the free use of two rooms in the Fitch Institute, and through the generosity of carpenters, painters, merchants and private individuals, they were transformed into an attractive library and a convenient office.

On March 27th an informal dedicatory service was held in honor of its distinguished visitors, Julia Ward Howe, Abby W. May, Frances E. Willard, and other well-known philanthropists, who were in town for a mid-year conference of the Association for the Advancement of Women.

With their inspiring words and a silent prayer in which all could join, the rooms were consecrated to a noble work. The formal opening occurred April 15th, when a public reception was held; and from that date the rooms were open every week-day from 10 A. M. to 9 P. M.

The first year's records show a membership of 794, and over 1,000 visitors. Activities increased to such an extent that more room was needed in the autumn, when the Charity Organization Society again showed its interest by opening two additional rooms for our use. The first annual meeting was held in Fitch Institute hall, with an audience of several hundred. The results reported by the heads of the various committees demonstrated beyond a doubt the Union's right to exist. Another meeting was held in the evening, when short addresses were made by the Hon. Arthur W. Hickman, Dr. Roswell Park, Seward A. Simons and Nathaniel Rosenau. It was not long before we were again cramped for room. It was then felt that better results could be attained if we had a home of our own.

Just at this time the Babcock Homestead on Niagara Square came into the market, and on January 5, 1886, an option on this property was taken. With but \$30 in the treasury, but with unbounded confidence, all energies were bent to secure subscriptions. In six weeks' time the first payment of \$12,000 was made, a mortgage of \$6,000 given, and the Union became the owner of one of Buffalo's charming old homes. It was an ideal building for this new enterprise, and was considered sufficiently large to serve its purpose for years to come. The necessary alterations were planned by Mr. R. A. Bethune, architect, who gave his services. Carpenters, masons, plumbers, and painters made liberal reductions on their bills. The rooms on the second floor not then needed were rented as studios. The stable was transformed into a well-appointed gymnasium. The enlarged quarters made it possible to reach

out in new directions. The Kitchen Garden, the Coteries, and the Noon Rest were started, and classes in Domestic Training opened.

The first public reception in our new home was held October 30, 1886. Addresses were made by the Hon. James O. Putnam, Nathaniel S. Rosenau and Seward A. Simons. Miss Mary A. Ripley read an original poem. The high ideals with which the Union started out, and to which it always held, received the hearty approval of Buffalo's best citizens, both men and women. Among its most staunch supporters—always ready with loyal service and wise council—were the Hon. James O. Putnam, the Hon. William P. Letchworth and the Hon. Sherman S. Rogers. The first-named was often called the "Commodore" of the Union, a title of which he was rather proud.

The fifth annual meeting was a time of rejoicing, not only for past achievement, and for the many new avenues of influence opening out before us, but for the fact that we were free from debt. The \$6,000 mortgage was cancelled and the burden of semi-annual interest lifted from our shoulders, leaving us free to direct our energies along more vital lines. To mark the event an informal luncheon was served in the gymnasium. While the Union was striving to advance the aims and objects for which it was organized—"to provide a common meeting place for women, with an atmosphere so cordial that none should feel out of place, where the rich woman should forget her riches, the poor woman her poverty; to freely give the advantages women need—graces of heart, culture of the intellect, employment for the hand and brain, a more exalted opinion of home life, protection from the oppressor, access to good literature, and to offer a welcome and sympathy to all who should cross its threshold"—special committees were accomplishing important reforms. The effort begun in 1884 had at last accomplished its object; a police matron for

No. 1 station had been appointed by Mayor Scoville, and much desirable legislation was secured, which will be mentioned in the chapter on "Protection."

It had long been the wish the Union to have a well-equipped kitchen and laundry in which domestic training could be taught on a scientific basis, but there was no room that could be devoted to this purpose. With the Union spirit of optimism a well-known architect was consulted with regard to putting up an addition on the Union's vacant lot. Now that we were out of debt, there was great hesitancy about assuming new burdens, and the hope for a new building seemed little more than an air-castle. About this time a reporter called on our president and asked her to tell him something about the Union. He was told of the need for enlarged quarters and better equipment for the Domestic Training Department, more room for the Kitchen Garden, and of the hope that we might sometime have a hall for lectures, meetings, and receptions. In the next Sunday's issue of the *Courier* appeared an article entitled "Mrs. Townsend's Dream," setting forth the aims and objects of the Union and the urgent need of more room if the work was to be carried on effectively. This article brought most unexpected results. The first gift was \$10,000 from Mrs. Esther A. Glenny to build the hall. A few weeks later came the welcome gift of \$5,000 from Mrs. Charlotte A. Watson for the Domestic Science Department, and from Mrs. Porter Norton, the first vice-president, a promise of the interest of \$5,000 for three years to assist in sustaining that department. These generous gifts were most encouraging and served as an incentive to renewed effort.

On the advice of the architect and other practical business men, it was decided to erect an entirely new building, and tear down the old one, with the exception of the gymnasium, which was in good order and well adapted to its requirements. On August 8, 1892, the old Babcock man-

sion was vacated, and its demolition begun. The gymnasium, which had to be used for office, classes, library and lectures, was a busy place. Many of the Union's activities were necessarily suspended altogether; others were carried on under great disadvantage; and this meant a pecuniary loss of several hundred dollars. Financial panics are as ruthless to philanthropy as to business, and the hope that we might celebrate our tenth anniversary in the new building could not be realized. Only the rooms needed for the Domestic Science Department were finished in time for the autumn opening. The Kitchen Garden children met again in January, much to the delight of these embryo housekeepers. After many discouragements the building was ready for inspection, and was thrown open to the public Monday, October 29, 1894. It was estimated that over 2,000 people visited the Union that day. The dedicatory services were postponed till the building should be paid for. Mrs. Glenny builded better than she knew when her generosity made possible the Union hall, for it proved one of the strongest factors for the Union's social and educational work. William Hamilton Gibson opened the hall with a course of charming lectures. Since then it has been the scene of lectures and entertainments given by many famous men and women.

The continued financial anxiety in the business world prevented the starting off of any new departments for a time, and in a measure restricted efforts in those already undertaken. However, the Union could not stand still. The completion of its club room on the second floor was a step forward, and it brought in some return in the way of rentals. The small gallery was fitted with cabinets and drawers to receive the Union's collection of rare autograph letters, and a committee on Arts and Industries was named to have charge of this collection. The increased clerical work connected with running the institution made it neces-

sary to have a resident superintendent. Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis, who had served as superintendent with efficiency and loyal fidelity for seven years, resigned, her home duties preventing her from living in the building. Miss Jean Agnew was then engaged, and began her duties October 1, 1896. From that time until the building was turned over to the University of Buffalo — with the exception of about two years when ill health compelled her absence from town — Miss Agnew gave to the Union a devotion which is rarely found, and which can be appreciated only by those who worked with her in those eighteen years.

We have already chronicled one "Freedom from Debt" festival, which took place when the mortgage on the Babcock property was paid off. To have paid for a second building without holding any kind of a bazaar, or selling a single ticket for an entertainment, and to be again out of debt was ground for further rejoicing. To celebrate this achievement a luncheon was given October 27, 1897, to nearly two hundred women. Members from the Boston, Mass., Youngstown, Ohio, Dunkirk, Rochester, Syracuse and Auburn Unions came to share our happiness and to take part in the dedicatory exercises, which were held in the evening in Union Hall. Mrs. Kehew, President of the Boston Union, gave an address of greeting, and this was followed by a reception in the Ripley Memorial Library.

In spite of the continual struggle for an adequate income, new features were added as opportunity presented. The "At Homes" not only extended pleasant hospitality to members and friends, but enabled the committees by exchange of duties to become better acquainted with each other, and with the work. Much thought and care were given to securing the best methods of carrying on the diversified interests, and at the same time to subordinate methods to the aim of securing "educational, industrial

and social advancement of women." Two sides of this triangle were met by the Educational and Domestic Science classes. To the question, "What was done for the social advancement of women?" the reply depends largely upon the point of view. That the well-to-do stand in as great need of social advancement as the remainder of the population, no one who looks at life in the broadest way will deny. If the Union was a common meeting-ground for the masses and the classes, where each could give of what she alone possessed, and by common effort accomplish a little towards the uplifting of humanity, then we may assert that this institution lived up to its motto; "Each for all and all for each." Every department served to bring together those who needed to receive and those who needed to give. That "none are so rich that they have no needs" was one of the Union's oft-repeated truisms.

In 1904 the constitution was so amended as to allow men to become associate life and sustaining members, and among those soon enrolled were a number of men whose never failing faith and interest in the work had been most helpful and encouraging.

After serving the Union as president for twenty-two years, Mrs. Townsend was obliged to resign on account of failing health. In all these years hers had been the guiding hand in every endeavor; she had inspired her associates with her own high ideals. In her final annual address we find this quotation: "The idealist is one whose life is shaped to certain definite ends, and who beholds himself loyal to certain ultimate purposes." She herself measured up to this definition; it dominated her whole thought. To those who had been privileged to work with her, her departure was a keen personal loss, and every department missed her sunny presence and encouragement. To her energy, optimism, and self-sacrificing work is to be attributed the Union's growth, and whatever it has accom-

plished. Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, who had served as first vice-president for several years, and also as chairman of the Entertainment and the Domestic Science committees, succeeded Mrs. Townsend as president and served for four years. She was succeeded in turn by Mrs. Thomas B. Reading, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Henry Wertimer, and Mrs. Lucien Howe.

EDUCATION.

In order to promote the educational interests of women, a committee in charge of this department provided during the first year instruction in reading, penmanship, arithmetic, typewriting, stenography, and bookkeeping. In a short time classes were opened in free-hand drawing, water-colors, dressmaking, French and German. As the need arose china painting, vocal music and parliamentary law were added. The aim was to help those seeking to fit themselves for positions, and to make those already employed more intelligent workers. Many of the classes were free to members, and offered opportunities otherwise out of the girls' reach. The free scholarships given by the College of Commerce, the Buffalo Business University, and Bryant & Stratton's were much prized by the beneficiaries, who were carefully selected by the committee. With the opening of the public night schools, there was no further need of the Union's free classes, in which about 2,000 girls had received instruction. Nearly all the teachers had given their services, while the others received but small remuneration.

A prominent feature of the educational work was the Coteries, at which papers on subjects of importance to women were read, and the discussions following were often creditably participated in by those unaccustomed to the sound of their own voices in public.

In order to overcome in part the ignorance of women as to the laws of the State which concern their rights of

property, inheritance, dower, guardianship of children, and many other matters, a course of free law lectures was given by Seward A. Simons, Sheldon T. Viele, William B. Hoyt, George Clinton, and Judge Jacob Stern. Among others to whom the Union was indebted for lectures were Le Roy Parker, Charles A. Pooley, S. E. Nichols, William L. Marcy, William Macomber, and John B. Olmsted. Some of Buffalo's prominent men and women gave talks on political history; and Mrs. C. D. Adsit, of Milwaukee, gave twelve most enjoyable lectures on etchings and engravings, illustrating them with a valuable collection of pictures. A keen interest in art was aroused and several pictures were given to the Union in consequence. An etching by Chauval was purchased with the proceeds of a benefit lecture given by Mrs. Adsit, and framed gratuitously by Oscar Benson. Mr. Henry S. Bliss presented three of Sangster's fine etchings, which were framed by Hoddick & Co., Benson & Son, and Mrs. E. H. Dutton. The fascinating lectures on "The Mysteries of the Flowers," which opened the Union Hall, will long be remembered by those who heard the artist lecturer, William Hamilton Gibson. Julia Ward Howe — that ever welcome visitor — gave several lectures at the Union. In her "Reminiscences of a Winter in Rome," the speaker told many interesting incidents not only of her last winter in the Eternal City, but some experiences of her first winter spent there more than fifty years before. Her talk on "Personal Reminiscences of Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes," packed the hall to its utmost capacity. Many interesting talks were given on art and literature by other well-known speakers, among whom were Arthur Kaiser, lecturer in the Chicago University Extension Work, and John Francis Waters, M. A., of Ottawa. David Christie Murray gave a complimentary lecture on "The Novelist's Note-Book," which brought in a substantial addition to the committee's funds. Four lec-

tures of distinct educational value were given by the Rev. F. Hyatt Smith on "American Literature," the Rev. J. Aird Moffatt on "American Characteristics," Miss Elizabeth Hirschfield on "The Influence of New England Writers," and Harlow C. Curtiss on "Home Life in Colonial Times." A notable event was the lecture given by the Russian Princess Engeletcheff. After the lecture a reception was tendered to her in the Ripley Library.

A part of the educational scheme well worth while was the "Girl's Union Circle." This was practically a club for girls from the free classes, for the mental improvement and entertainment of its members. It began with a membership of twenty-seven, which soon increased to nearly two hundred. The meetings were held monthly from October to March, the programs of which were often arranged by the girls themselves and included recitations by members of the elocution class, choruses by pupils in vocal music, and the preparation of simple papers, thus increasing the personal interest. For several years the Circle closed its season with a dance. This was looked forward to not only as a pleasant occasion but also as a means of raising money for the Union. The music was usually furnished free of charge by some of Buffalo's best musicians, Miss Seamans, Mr. Trolius Koons, and Mr. Sternberg being among these good friends. The receipts averaged about \$40 which the girls took great pleasure in turning over to the general fund.

The Civic Club—another branch of the educational work—was "formed to interest and inform women in matters relating to municipal affairs, to show how they might assist in the good government of our city, and to foster all movements within the circle of its influence which have for their ends the improvement of any phase of our city life." Its motto, "Information before Reformation" was well lived up to. Talks were given on such vital topics as

organization of school boards; care of streets—lighting and cleaning; neighborhood improvement societies; city legislation; water supply; outdoor relief; parks, etc. The voice of the Club was raised in behalf of the street-car driver, in an appeal that vestibuled cars be provided for his protection in winter; and a petition was presented to the Mayor to create a bureau of forestry, for the systematic beautifying of our streets. The Club's influence was exerted in suppressing objectionable posters and advertisements; it was also instrumental in establishing the truant school; and under its auspices Katherine B. Davis, of the College Settlement in Philadelphia, gave a talk on "Women as a Factor in Municipal Housekeeping." Of all civic difficulties none seemed more pressing than the smoke nuisance, and in its endeavor to practice as well as preach, the Union bought a so-called smokeless coal at some extra expense.

Another enterprise was the publication of a small magazine called *The Lantern*, as a means of interesting the public in the Union and advertising its activities. The little pamphlet first appeared in April, 1909, and traveled far and wide. It had subscribers as far west as Seattle. Through the efforts of its editor, Mrs. George A. Bailey, and its business manager, Mrs. John MacGregor, the advertisements secured more than paid for its printing. Nine numbers were issued.

PHILANTHROPY.

The philanthropic work was carried on according to true principles of charity; the Union reached out its hands to the weak, the wayward and the defenseless, bearing the gifts of womanly sympathy and needed help; visiting and encouraging the poor, providing food, clothing and delicacies for the sick, befriending and counseling those in trouble, and assisting women to support themselves. The

influence of the Union's name was shown in one of the earliest cases brought to this committee. A woman, alone and helpless, was found in an almost starving condition. Investigation showed that sufficient means had been left to make her comfortable for life, but had been withheld. The mention of the Women's Union, and its possible interference in the case had the desired effect, and the woman was made comfortable by those responsible for her welfare.

The committee's efforts were not confined to providing for mere material wants. A poor friendless Swedish girl died in the General Hospital. The question was asked, "Must this poor girl be buried like a dog in our Christian city? Cannot something be done to show that women take an interest in their kind?" A simple funeral service was arranged, a clergyman responded when asked to officiate, and nine ladies were present. A letter containing a lock of the girl's hair was sent to the mother in Sweden, from whom a note of grateful appreciation was received.

A gratifying part of the work in the early days was the giving to ten young women, who had not the means to pay for it, the opportunity to spend one or two weeks in the country. Boarding places were secured either free of charge or for a small sum which the committee paid. Among the applicants for aid, it was not unusual for the committee to find those in need of a physician's attention, and such service was always secured, Buffalo's best known doctors responding cheerfully to these calls. Owing to the unusual number of people out of work during the winter of 1893-4, calls for help increased enormously. The committee agreed to feed and clothe thirty families, although to do this with an empty treasury to start on seemed a Herculean task. They did, however, care for forty families for four months, and gave temporary relief to many more. One family carefully looked after for seventeen months was finally returned to England by the Immigration Com-

mission, after being comfortably fitted out for the winter voyage by the committee, which considered itself well rewarded by the receipt of a grateful letter soon after their arrival in England. The philanthropic work was somewhat lessened when the city was divided into districts by the Charity Organization Society. In extreme cases the required aid was given at once; but that investigation was necessary was shown in one instance where a woman, with perseverance worthy a better cause, applied five times to different members of the committee, each time giving a fictitious address. The records do not give the exact number of people helped by this committee, but it was several thousand.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS.

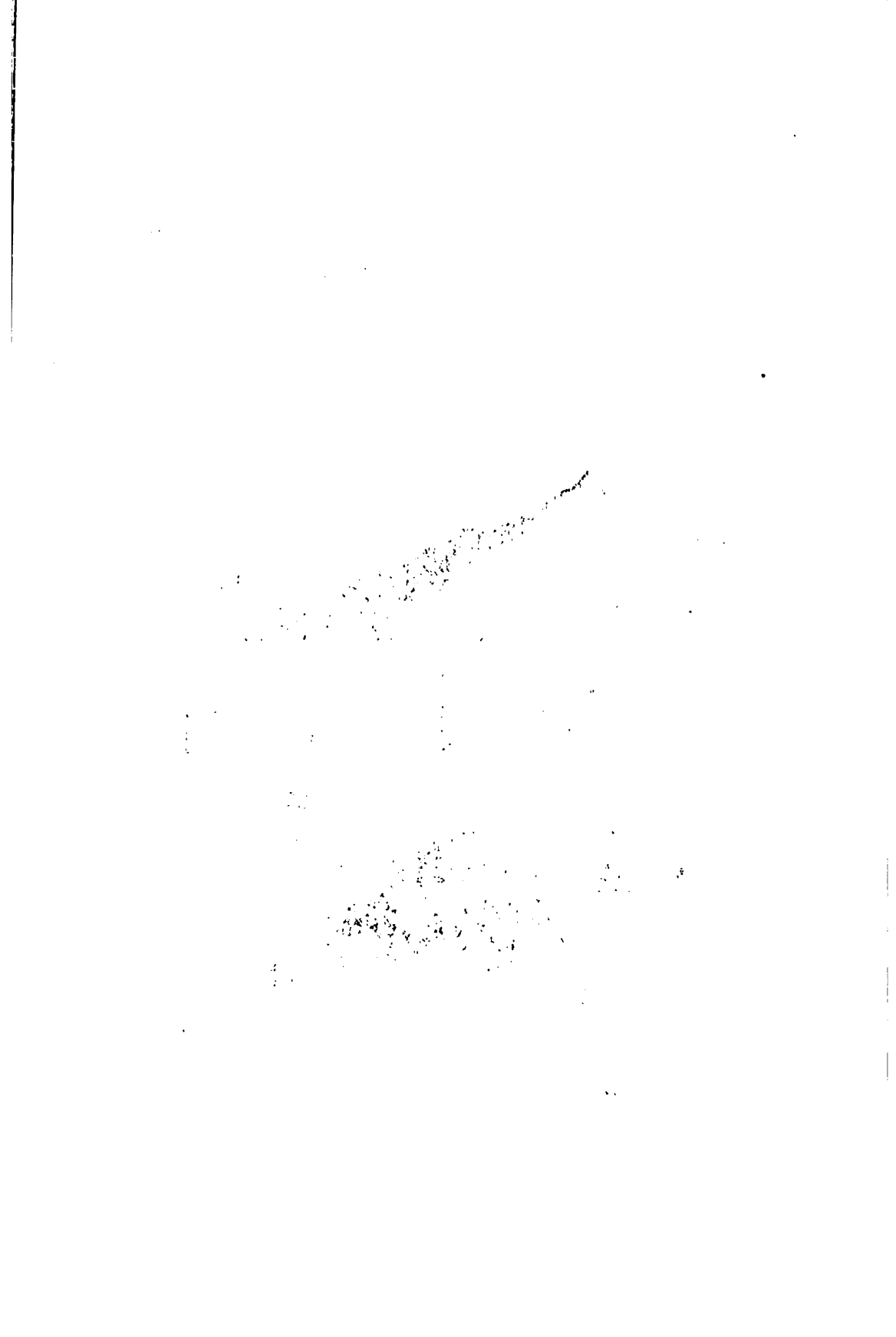
In the Fitch Institute days, reception, philanthropy, library and employment work and musical and literary entertainments were all taken care of by one committee. A division of the responsibilities was found necessary, and the duties of the Social Affairs committee thereafter were confined to the charge of the many social functions given by the Union and to dispensing its hospitalities. Before the Union was six months old this committee made the first move in the effort to secure a police matron. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Home for the Friendless and the Ingleside Home soon joined in this movement. The Hon. William P. Letchworth and the Hon. James O. Putnam aided materially in this undertaking, which ended successfully only after a two or three years' struggle.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE.

The Union was the pioneer in the movement to put domestic training on a scientific basis. It was a far cry from the free class of four pupils, who brought their own



HALL, WOMEN'S UNION; NOW ARTS DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO.



materials to the one lesson a week from a volunteer teacher, to the two high-salaried, scientifically-trained teachers, who gave their entire time to teaching all branches of cooking, laundering, dressmaking, and millinery. Mrs. S. V. R. Watson's gift of \$5,000 gave the Union one of the best-arranged schools in the State. It included a large lecture hall—which could be divided into four class-rooms by rolling partitions—a laundry, ironing and sewing room, cloak room, store room, and a kitchen especially equipped for class work. The sum of \$516.65—a fund collected in an effort to establish a cooking school several years previous, and now given to the Union in memory of Mrs. Evelyn Schoolcraft Allen by her associates in that work—was applied to the purchase of permanent fittings. One hundred and forty-eight pupils were registered in the school the first year. A course of lectures for housekeepers was given by men who had made a special study of subjects assigned them. "House Sanitation" was explained by the well-known architect, Edward Kent; "The Rights and Duties of Housekeepers," by LeRoy Parker; "Bacteria," by Dr. Herbert U. Williams; "Disinfection and Infection," by Dr. Franklin C. Gram; "Chemistry of Foods," and "Chemistry and Physiology of Digestion," by Dr. Julius Pohlman; "Food Adulterations" by Dr. William H. Heath; "Chemistry of Cooking," by Dr. Herbert M. Hill; "Diet in Health," by Dr. Charles G. Stockton; "Diet in Disease," by Dr. Allen Jones; "Sanitary and Unsanitary Conditions of the Flesh of Animals as Human Food," by F. Thornbury and W. Hinckley; "Selection and Comparative Cost of Proper Meats," by John Valentine.

At the weekly mothers' meetings the women learned something of the nutritive value of different foods and were taught how to cheapen a dietary without loss of food values. They also listened to talks on personal and house hygiene. Demonstration lessons in fireless cooking were

given to women from various Settlement Houses, and a "workman's dinner" for six persons at a cost of sixty cents proved of much interest. Courses of lessons were specially designed for women desiring to fit themselves as trained housekeepers in hotels, institutions, or private homes, and for girls from the Buffalo Seminary, St. Margaret's and the grammar schools. To show the progress made by the latter some of the directors and a few invited guests, including Superintendent and Mrs. Emerson, were invited to a luncheon cooked and served by these little grammar-school girls. Their success in this affair gave them confidence that was invaluable. The Central, Lafayette and Masten Park High Schools sent classes for the Regents' courses, and nurses came from the General, German, Children's City, Woman's, Erie County, Homeopathic, and the Sisters' Hospitals for lessons in dietetics and invalid cookery.

The Union teachers had charge of the lessons in domestic science at the Elmwood School, and for several years supplemented the training of the Fitch Creche nursery maids with a course in simple cookery for children, laundering of children's clothes, and lectures on home sanitation. A normal course was given to a class of Guild Workers from St. Paul's Church, and to classes from Our Lady of Victory and St. Vincent's Industrial Schools.

The cry "Oh, for a microscope!" had gone out from this department for many years without bringing any response. At last it reached the ear of that wizard, Henry Keller, and with his wonderful faculty for producing things from nowhere, the next day a fine physician's microscope appeared at the Union. It was a valuable addition to the resources of the laboratory.

In the laundry course pupils were required to do practical work in washing and ironing. The lessons were preceded by short theory talks, with tests of the properties

of water, soaps, bluing, bleaching powders, etc., and methods of removing strains. Many of the pupils were sent by their employers, and they were reluctant to acknowledge that the new methods were any better than their old ways; but as the lessons advanced they were convinced. Scholarships in the laundry course were given to several girls from the different settlement houses; these girls proved much more satisfactory pupils than the older woman wage-earners. Always reaching out in every direction to help those in need, the Union gave twelve free laundry lessons to a few women from the Wayfare, enabling them to secure good positions and become self-supporting. Laundry lessons were also given at Trinity House, and the Maple-street Mission.

The sewing lessons were planned to meet varied requirements. The young girl just finishing school was helped to a more complete education along practical lines. The older woman, who "knew how to sew," was taught the easier and more scientific way. For those wishing to perfect themselves either as teachers or workers, lessons were arranged with these objects in view. There were scientific courses in plain sewing, dress and shirtwaist-making, millinery, household embroidery and basketry. Special courses in drafting were planned for those preparing to take the examination for sewing teachers in the public schools, and normal classes for teachers from the Union from the various industrial schools were held.

Under the auspices of the Union an exhibition of sewing was given in Buffalo, December 11-13, 1895, representing the work accomplished in the sewing schools of New York City, Brooklyn, Washington, D. C., England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Holland. This exhibition was largely instrumental in forming the Association of Sewing Schools in Buffalo and arousing interest in a neglected art. At a similar exhibition held at the Waldorf, New York,

meet this demand those who had made good use of the Kitchen Garden courses were given lessons in cooking simple dishes, and in making plain garments. Each year the standard was raised, and the plain aprons which the girls proudly exhibited as their handiwork of the early days, gave place to work that would have done credit to more mature seamstresses. For a few of the most faithful girls, scholarships were secured in the Domestic Science Department, where they were given more advanced instruction in cooking and sewing. These scholarships were greatly prized by the recipients. For girls who had outgrown the Kitchen Garden, a course in industrial drawing was planned by Miss Jessica Beers, and taught by students from the Art League. Through the generosity of friends the Kitchen Garden was later provided with paid teachers, who improved the methods and put the work on a higher educational basis. To measure up to the enlarged opportunities, a few boys were admitted to the Kitchen Garden, and did their share in table-setting, dish-washing, etc., thereby gaining some idea of the domestic side of life. They made bags for skates and books, and the lessons in housework, when adapted to camp life, held their enthusiastic attention. Lessons in whittling were given by the accomplished Sloyd teacher of the Elmwood School. A gift from the H. A. Meldrum Co., of a large sized doll's bed, gave fresh zest to the lesson in bed-making. Small but willing fingers made the necessary bedding. In 1897 the children were for the first time asked to pay half the cost of materials used in the sewing lessons if they wished to keep the articles made. They were not very responsive at first, but in a short time each child was most eager to keep her work. For one of the closing picnics to the Park Zoo, the children were told to bring the amount of two carfares as their contribution towards paying for the two omnibuses, and not a child failed to bring the six cents.

In the autumn of 1891 the Union opened a branch Kitchen Garden at the corner of Michigan and Ferry streets, with seven children. Twice as many came for the second lesson, and each succeeding Saturday brought in a larger class, until the school outgrew its quarters, and moved to Main and Ferry streets. It soon had an average attendance of sixty-five scholars. Three other Kitchen Gardens were started in different parts of the city and while in no way connected with the Union, they were in reality an outgrowth of the Union's work, and each school was represented on the Union's committee. All these faithful gardeners felt well rewarded by the evidence that many of the seeds took root and grew into the happy faces which greeted them every week. The Union also started a Kitchen Garden in the Polish quarter on Broadway, with a dozen girls. This number soon increased to forty, with as many boys clamoring for admission. One little fellow begged his mother to dress him as a girl — which she did — so that he might be admitted. It was not till the lesson was nearly over that the supposed little blond girl with delicate features was discovered to be a boy. Afternoon classes were opened for the boys, and they were taught basketry, chair-caning and simple carpentry. The Christmas and Easter entertainments, with the accompanying ice-cream and cake, were sources of great delight to these little foreigners. Several cases of extreme poverty were relieved by the teachers, and the visits of the district nurse were of great benefit in giving the children much needed lessons in hygiene.

One of the greatest assets of this work was the influence transmitted through each little pupil. Every home from which these children came must have felt this more or less. The social uplift of a clean plate cannot be measured; neither can the pernicious influence of one unwashed.

What the school did for these children was shown when eighty-four of them were taken to visit the South Park

Conservatory; not an unpleasant incident marred the day, and the custodian complimented them upon their good behavior. Without the Kitchen Garden training these same children might have done wanton injury to the property, to say nothing of being less appreciative of what they saw. The sewing exhibit of the Union Kitchen Garden at the Pan-American Exposition was singled out by experts as by far the best exhibit there. The paid teachers, Mrs. Cornelia Marcy Green in sewing, and Miss Laura Weisner, kindergartner, with the invaluable help of the volunteer teachers, kept the school on a high educational plane; their methods were studied by, and they were often asked to give talks to, those starting similar schools. Many mission industrial classes were opened and our teachers were urged to transfer interest to the work of their own churches. The Union interests suffered somewhat in consequence. The Polish Kitchen Garden became too great a financial burden for the Union to continue, and its efforts were turned to another nationality — one in our immediate neighborhood, so that the equipment in our own building could be utilized.

The work among the Italians was started by Mrs. Isadora Hatfield Kennedy, a trained social worker, and later carried on most effectively by Miss Mary Churchyard. The object was to get in touch with the parents as well as with the children; to arouse in them an interest in better ways of living. The men were encouraged to attend night school to learn to speak English, thereby fitting them to become better citizens. Children were provided with the necessary clothing to make them comfortable, and many little services were rendered by the teachers. Individual knives and forks were introduced,—quite an innovation among them. Many of the girls had fine voices, and the singing class gave them great delight. A concert given by the children was a very creditable affair; it also proved an incentive to

learn to sew, as only those properly dressed were allowed to appear on the stage. Then came close application to the sewing lessons, that the simple costume might be made. The girls also made the dainty white flowers worn in their hair. The lowering of the voices, and the exercise of self-control in these restless children were very noticeable. The cooking lessons were real feasts with their cups of hot cocoa and some simple dish. The essentials of neatness and personal cleanliness were included in the bathroom lesson, and as rewards for improvement in these lines some of the children were given tooth brushes. It was suspected that this particular lesson was impressed upon the family so strongly that all its members availed themselves of the toothbrush. Several groups of children were taken to the Park — where none of them had been — and it is difficult to realize how much they enjoyed rolling on the grass and feeding the swans. The little garden showed the good results of careful training. A class of mothers — few able to speak English — were given weekly instructions in sewing; the monthly meetings, when work was put away an hour earlier than usual, and they were served with a cup of cocoa and a bit of cake, were eagerly looked forward to as bright spots in their dull lives. Some of them were taken to Crystal Beach for a day's outing. A group of men, many of whom were too ignorant or too poorly clad to be willing to go to night school, were given instruction, evenings in English and citizenship. All were eager to learn and made rapid progress. All this work was invaluable in turning into useful channels the energies and resources of these excitable people; but it meant a great deal of time and labor on the part of Miss Churchyard and her assistant, Mrs. Helen Jaeger.

NOON REST.

To meet a demand from Union members who were employed down town during the day for a place where well-prepared food could be had at reasonable prices, the Noon Rest was opened September 24, 1895. The former locker room of the old gymnasium was transformed into an attractive lunchroom, with the necessary kitchen and pantries, where appetizing food was prepared and served on dainty china. Several fine photographs, suitably framed, presented by Miss Annie Crawford and Miss Emma Kaan, gave the needed bit of decoration. In connection with the Ripley Memorial Library, with its books, magazines, daily papers and easy chairs, an ideal noon resting place was thus provided. In a few months the average daily attendance increased from eighty-four to one hundred and fourteen. While the Noon Rest proved a great convenience to many women, the annual balance, with but one exception, was on the wrong side. Its one satisfactory feature was that these women had been provided with hot lunches, prepared from the very best quality of materials at rates much less than they could have been obtained elsewhere. Its banner year was that of the Pan-American Exposition, when its patrons numbered nearly 4,000 and over \$550 was turned in to the general fund. When the Noon Rest was closed a Cafeteria was opened and carried on until the building was turned over to the University.

RECEPTION.

The Reception Committee held an important place in the Union's plans, for to it was assigned the duty of entertaining many local and visiting organizations, and of acting as hostesses for the public receptions. During the National Encampment of the G. A. R., held in the summer of 1897, the Union entertained the National Convention of Army Nurses, the National Convention of

Daughters of Veterans, the National Convention of Loyal Home Workers, and the Department of New York Ladies of the G. A. R. The Pan-American Exposition drew many women's associations to Buffalo and the Union served as headquarters for the National Association of Colored Women from July 1st to 12th, the International Council of Nurses from September 16th to 21st, and the National Household Economic Association. In October of that year a reception was given in honor of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, which was the largest affair of the kind ever given by the Union. The hall was handsomely decorated with rugs and draperies loaned by the department stores, and a lavish display of flowers sent in by the florists. Throughout "Old Home Week," September 2 to 7, 1907, the Union kept open house, serving tea every afternoon except Wednesday, when a general reception was given. After the unveiling of the McKinley monument on Thursday, the building was filled to overflowing with a chilled crowd who were grateful for a cup of hot tea.

Among other visiting organizations entertained by the Union were the National Association of College Alumnae, the National Educational Association, the State Assembly of Mothers, the State Conference of Charities, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Western Division of the International Sunshine Society. For a time the Political Equality Club, Mothers' Club, Nurses' Association, Teachers' League, Investigating Club, Buffalo Kindergarten Training School, and the Society of New England Women held their regular meetings in our hall or club room. Hospitality was considered by the Ancients as one method of worship.

LIBRARY.

Lack of room and lack of funds were two very forcible reasons for the slow growth of the Union's library; but from the first it was supplied with the very best current magazines, either as gifts direct, or for second reading, and nearly all the Buffalo daily papers were furnished free of charge, a courtesy which was continued throughout the Union's existence, and which was most sincerely appreciated. More than once girls from the old Central High School contributed money for magazine subscriptions, thereby helping to make the Library attractive to the shop girls who often passed their noon hour there. In 1893 a committee consisting of Dr. John C. Parmenter, President of the Buffalo High School Alumni Association, Henry P. Emerson, Superintendent of Education, Matilda T. Karnes, Mary C. Lovejoy, and Charlotte McMillan, raised a fund as a memorial of Mary A. Ripley. With this money they finished and furnished the library in the Union's new building, and placed in it a reference library of 500 volumes, at an expense of about \$2,000. This gave a much needed impetus to this department. It was at once registered in the Public Libraries Division of the University of the State of New York, which entitled it to a sum equivalent to its own expenditure, not to exceed \$200 annually. The gift of a handsome clock from T. & E. Dickinson was an ornamental and a very welcome addition to the furnishings of the room. The number of daily visitors increased, and the Mary A. Ripley Memorial Library proved to be what its donors intended it should be—an attractive room in which to read and study. An actual count made of the number of readers using the room on one hundred and twelve days—about one-third of a year—was found to be 1,508. The library received many gifts of books; for several years, a number of volumes were sent in annually by Mrs. Stephen C. Clark, in memory of her mother, Mrs.

E. H. Dutton, a charter member, and for many years a director of the Union. Over a score of periodicals were subscribed for, and nearly all the publications of the city's various charitable institutions were sent gratis. During his term as Congressman, Col. D. S. Alexander kept the Library supplied with official geographical, educational and reformatory reports from Washington.

HYGIENE AND PHYSICAL CULTURE.

The Hygiene and Physical Culture work was started under the supervision of Dr. Mary B. Moody, and the high standard set by her was maintained to the end. Free lectures were given on such important subjects as "Sanitary Drainage of our Homes," "Ventilation of Dwellings," etc. Courses on "First Aid to the Injured" were given by Drs. Charles Cary, Bernard Bartow, Henry R. Hopkins, J. W. Keene, William D. Granger, William S. Tremain and J. W. Putnam, assisted by nurses from the hospitals in the necessary demonstrations. Twenty students passed the examinations in these courses and were awarded diplomas by the New York Aid Society. The Committee early saw the need of a gymnasium for women, and began at once securing the necessary funds. It was not until the Union had a home of its own in Niagara Square that a suitable place was found for such an undertaking. The old stable was transformed into a sunny, well-ventilated, and scientifically-equipped gymnasium, and opened to the public October 30, 1886. A large class of pupils was soon enthusiastically at work under the supervision of Miss Alice B. Foster, a graduate of Dr. Sargent's school at Cambridge. The first year's record showed gratifying results in strengthened backs, increased girth of chest and lung capacity, straighter shoulders, freer walk, and a marked decrease of various ills to which flesh is heir. No pupil was allowed to enter the classes without taking the required

examination, which, in more than one instance, revealed a spinal curvature unsuspected by parents. In some cases this trouble was wholly overcome; in others it was much lessened. The Committee started out with a debt of over \$200 for equipment. This was soon wiped out by the receipts from two performances of Howells' "Sleeping Car," given by the Buffalo Amateurs, assisted by the quartettes of Westminster Church and the Church of the Messiah.

A course of lectures on the "Chemistry of Cooking" attracted attention outside of Buffalo, the local newspaper notices being copied in several New York and Chicago papers. In the first five years 763 pupils took advantage of these courses in systematic and scientific physical training; Lancaster, Lockport, Warsaw, Tonawanda, Ithaca, Batavia and Elmira were represented in this number. Not only did the Union make a success of its own work in this line, but it overcame the prejudice encountered at the beginning, and made possible the opening of other gymnasiums. One of the noteworthy courses of lectures was that on "Home Nursing" — the first of its kind ever given in Buffalo outside a hospital or training school. These addresses were given by the superintendents of nurses from different hospitals. Among the most popular classes were those for "Trained Attendants." This course was planned so that women might become proficient in the care of convalescents, chronic invalids, elderly people, and young children. Twenty-one pupils passed the first examination. The committee, as well as her many pupils, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to Dr. Maude J. Frye for her faithful and long continued interest in both the "Home Nursing" and "Trained Attendants" classes. As public and private gymnasiums and physical culture classes were opened in different parts of the city, the Union ceased to be the center for this special work, but its object had been accom-

plished. Public opinion had been educated to see that the girl has the same right to a strong, sound body as has the boy. The physical emancipation of women had been achieved.

LITERARY AND MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

To give a list of Buffalonians who have appeared for the benefit of the Union in its two hundred or more free entertainments would be to name all the best musicians in town, and many of the city's most honored representatives in literary, social and dramatic circles. Providing free entertainments was gradually taken in charge by the Girls' Union Circle and a committee formed for

Special Entertainments.

Under its auspices a series of "Afternoons with Famous Actors," was arranged. Through the kindness of Mr. J. R. Stirling, manager of the Star Theatre, many leading actors became interested in the plan, and gave some delightful entertainments. Among them were Selma Herman in character recitations, and songs by members of her company; Mlle. Rhea, in a lecture on Napoleon; Margaret Mather in recitations and scenes from "The Honeymoon;" Joseph Jefferson with a lecture on Dramatic Art; Thomas W. Keene, in Shakespeare recitations, with Miss Sophie Fernow in piano selections. Henry Clay Barnaby gave an interesting talk, interspersed with old songs and ballads, sung as only he could sing them; James K. Hackett appeared with members of his company. A reception was given in honor of Julia Arthur who showed a keen interest in the objects and aims of the Union by becoming a Life Member.

MEMBERSHIP.

The Committee on Membership had an essential work to perform and but for its strenuous efforts the Union could not have lived out its thirty-one years of useful activity. The constitution was amended so that the men might be eligible for associate members. A Memorial Membership was also established, and at the request of a friend, accompanied by a check for \$50, the name of Mrs. Lily Lord Tift was placed at the head of that list. This was eminently fitting, as Mrs. Tift was one of the Union's incorporators and gave devoted service to it as long as she lived.

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

The Arts and Industries Committee was formed to collect examples of women's work, such as paintings and other arts, and to obtain original manuscripts of well-known woman authors. To raise a fund for this purpose an Autograph Tea was given. The purchaser of each ticket was entitled to an autograph of some well-known author. Only two hundred tickets were issued, and these were all disposed of long before the Tea. Twenty-five copies of Mrs. Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" were specially printed and signed by the author. The messages received from William Dean Howells, the Rev. Henry Van Dyke, Dr. Hamilton Mabie, Oliver Herford, and others, in response to the committee's requests for autographs, were both appropriate and amusing; that from Dr. Van Dyke was as follows:

On the banks of the river Yan-Tze,
In the heathenish province Kwang-se,
The various species of tea —
Pekoe, Souching, and Bohea —
Are produced by the heathen Chinese;
But I give you my word
He never has heard
Of the kind called The Autograph Tea.

The committee conducted classes in basketry, photography, and pyrography, and a series of Art Talks were given by Reginald C. Coxe, Alston Van Duzee, Charles Rohlf, Lucius Hitchcock, and Miss Anna Canfield, of Chicago. A valuable gift to this department was a handsome mahogany cabinet filled with rare specimens of needlework and hand-made laces. The collection was made specially for the Union and presented by Mrs. John D. Larkin.

The Union's Memorial Album, containing the photographs of directors and benefactors who have passed over to the majority, has been given to the Buffalo Historical Society. The album was a gift from J. F. Adams, and C. E. Beach kindly prepared the pictures. All the memorial tablets and the furniture from the Cora Bullymore room will be placed in a memorial room of the University's Arts and Sciences building.

PROTECTION.

To the Protective Committee was assigned the duty of guarding the legal and social rights of women. Its aim was to see that no wrong should be unredressed and no right disregarded. That the committee faithfully carried out this purpose, so far as it was possible to do so, was demonstrated by the amount of money collected; its successful efforts in securing the enactment by the Legislature of measures for the betterment of society at large, and of women in particular, and in the settlement of hundreds of cases of every sort and description, from smoothing out domestic quarrels to securing the conviction of men who had wronged young girls. In the early days the committee's efforts were chiefly devoted to collecting unjustly withheld wages of servants and seamstresses, and over \$35,000 was obtained. As the years passed, employers found that woman workers had a befriending agency to

which they could apply, and often it was only necessary to say that the matter would be taken up by the Union, to ensure payment with no further trouble. Eventually this branch of work was turned over to the Legal Aid Bureau. Many criminal cases were brought before the courts by the committee, and through its exertion more than one guilty man was sent to State prison, who otherwise would have gone unpunished. Several Government pensions were procured for needy people.

Months of time, voluminous correspondence, and the most persistent effort were necessary to produce results in the following list of reform acts, nearly all of which were accomplished by the Union alone.

- 1887, May 2. After three years' agitation the first Police Matron was appointed.
- 1887, November 19. Appointment of two women on Board of Managers, State Insane Asylum.
- 1890, April 27. Appointment of woman physicians in all State institutions where women are housed.
- 1890. Two additional Police Matrons appointed.
- 1891, December 15. Publication of Abstract of New York State Laws affecting the rights and property of women.
- 1892, January 1. First woman appointed on Buffalo Board of School Examiners.
- 1892. First Jail Matron, appointed after three years' agitation.
- 1893, March 22. Bill making husband and wife equal guardians of their children. This bill passed both houses of the New York Legislature without a negative vote.
- 1893. Establishment of the Western House of Refuge at Albion.
- 1904, April. Alimony Law, providing same measure for enforcing payments of alimony in judgments of divorce granted in other States to apply to judgments granted in New York.
- 1909-1910. Much time and energy was given to obtaining an increase of salary for police matrons, and to assisting police janitresses to become members of the force that they might be eligible for pensions. Success met both these endeavors.

A list of lawyers who acted as counselors to the Union would include nearly every prominent attorney in Buffalo

between the years 1884 and 1915. The unfailing courtesy of these busy men never made us feel that we were trespassing upon valuable time, and the staunch loyalty with which they stood by the Union through many an unsavory legal trial, helped to make these experiences less unpleasant for the committee, and will be remembered with gratitude.

EMPLOYMENT.

The Employment Committee sought to devise and adopt such industrial methods as should be a true help to women, and to find openings where those having practical knowledge might make it available. From the beginning the demand for work was far in excess of that for workers. A task which the Committee undertook was to caution women against fraudulent firms offering "work at home." The Boston and Buffalo Unions worked together in this matter, each furnishing a list of advertisements appearing in its neighborhood which had been investigated. This effort brought forth no visible results, but it prevented many a poor woman wasting her time and money. So many letters inquiring about different firms were received, that the cost of postage to answer them would have been a serious tax upon the Committee's resources but for the gift of a calf, which, when grown to cow's estate, was sold for \$25. After the Young Women's Christian Association opened a domestic employment bureau, all calls for general housework were referred to that office.

The urgent need of many women seemed to be to find a way to sell their own handiwork, and so gain an income without leaving home. To meet this emergency, a little corner of one room was set apart where work could be offered for sale. This was in 1903. In 1910 the business had grown to such proportions that there was no room for it at the Union, and it was moved to a store on Main street, where a lunch and tea-room was opened in connection with

it. The opening of domestic science classes in public and private schools made a great difference in this branch of work, and the Union found itself with a high-salaried teacher whose time was not filled. To utilize her time, as well as the finely equipped kitchen, a bake shop was started, which supplied hot lunches, bread, rolls, cakes and pastry to the up-town lunch room and to the Cafeteria at the Union, and it also filled special orders. Only the very best quality of materials was used, and the cooking was done under the most approved sanitary conditions. Patronage at the lunch room gradually increased, and to make the place more attractive and convenient, the store was entirely remodeled. Artistic fittings were designed and the construction supervised free of charge by Mr. Harold M. Olmsted. All the work and materials were either donated outright, or were furnished at cost by local firms. The Union Bake Shop soon became a factor for good living, and its products found a ready sale throughout the city. The lunch room filled a local need for a first class cafe where well cooked, wholesome and nutritious food was furnished at reasonable prices. While the Exchange was never a paying venture, it was an undertaking well worth while, as it opened an avenue for dealing with individual need by furnishing a market not otherwise available to women dependent upon their skill in doing fine handiwork. Consignments were received from California, Utah, Florida, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Maryland, as well as from nearly all the towns in Western New York, and practically every street in Buffalo.

FINANCE.

For its first liberal cash gift the Union was indebted to Mayor Jonathan Scoville. His check for \$250 was a cheering beginning. Other gifts soon followed. Mrs. Henry C. Jewett and Mrs. Charles Daniels each sent \$50 with so



MRS. GEORGE W. TOWNSEND.

For 22 years president of the Women's Educational
and Industrial Union.

much graciousness that a lasting impression was made upon those who were endeavoring to put this new institution on a firm foundation. The most distinguished contributor was Grover Cleveland, then Governor of the State, who gave \$25, as did also Mrs. E. H. Dutton and Mr. Charles W. McCune. With the purchase of the property on Niagara Square all energies were bent to paying off the mortgage. Mrs. John Blocher's promise to paint the house as soon as it was paid for, was faithfully kept. Had it not been for liberal contributors from our loyal friends, the local coal dealers, the limited resources of the Union would have been taxed to the breaking point to keep up with the ever-increasing price of coal; but we never suffered and were able to extend a warm welcome to our visitors. Coal, wood, checks or bills discounted were always forthcoming. Buffalo merchants not only gave liberally of money, but showed their interest by lending rugs, draperies, furniture, etc., for our public entertainments. Other contributions were beautiful flowers from the florists; generous amounts of ice cream for the receptions; carriages for the use of our president on her rounds of duty calls, and to bring to the Union those who were giving time and talent for our benefit entertainments; the use of a grand piano on several occasions, with free carting of same; barrels of oil, boxes of soap; pounds of stationery; groceries and provision for the free cooking classes; reductions on printing bills; trucking for rummage sales; chairs and tables for card parties. All these gifts and many more were as good as bank checks.

When the new building was erected in place of the Babcock house, building materials and labor of every description were given with the liberality characteristic of Buffalo citizens. Pressed brick to the value of \$1,000, was given by Mr. Louis Kirkover, in memory of Benjamin Hale Austin, (Mrs. Townsend's father), as were also many smaller donations. Mr. Richard A. Waite gave the plans,

as well as a great deal of time in supervising the building operations. The gifts from Mrs. Glenny and Mrs. Watson made possible the hall and the Domestic Science Department, thereby enabling the Union greatly to extend its efforts along social and educational lines. The handsome oak wainscoting and stairway from the office floor to the fourth story were gifts from Mrs. James F. Demarest as a memorial of her niece, Frances Demarest Streeter. The Hon. William P. Letchworth gave the marble, mosaic, and onyx vestibule, with the oak doors, in memory of his sister, Mrs. Mary A. Crozer. The Union's first bequest was one of \$1,000 from Mrs. Helen Whiting, a loyal friend of the Union from its organization and for many years a sustaining member. As residuary legatee of the David S. Ingalls estate, the Union was entitled to \$17,500; but a contest over the will somewhat reduced this amount. Other bequests were received from E. L. Hedstrom, \$2,000; Mrs. Delia Spencer Root, \$10,000; Dr. Frederick H. James, \$1,000; Mrs. Mary I. Williams, \$500; Ethan H. Howard, \$500; Mrs. James L. Arnold, \$500; Mrs. Helen S. Bull, \$500; Miss Hattie Lay, \$500; the Hon. James M. Smith, \$1,000; Cora Bullymore, \$500; George Howard Lewis, \$8,228.91; Mrs. Charles H. Smith, \$1,000; Mrs. George Howard, \$1,000; Edward H. Butler, \$1,000; Mrs. J. H. Dawes, \$1,000; Mrs. L. E. Tiphaine, \$1,000. Some of these bequests were added to the permanent fund. The Cora Bullymore bequest, given in memory of the donor and her dear friend Evelyn Austin, was used to finish and furnish a Memorial Room, in which some special work could be conducted. Mr. Josiah G. Munro, one of the Union's most frequent and generous benefactors, with a check for \$500 sent in the names of ten women with a request that they be made life members. Mrs. Sidney Shepard's gift of \$2,000, Bishop Vincent's of \$150, and \$325 received from the Order of the Mystic Shrine, were a few of the many

cash donations, all of which were used with wisdom and discretion. The Union was specially fortunate in its tenants, and numbered among them such well-known artists as William Graham, Miss Clark, Miss Annie Crawford, Miss Emma Kaan, Miss Emily Peck, Miss Sarah Chestnutwood, Urquhart Wilcox, Raphael Beck and Sig. Nuno.

As conditions changed new methods for raising money became necessary. Bazaars, balls, and card parties were given and brought in fair returns. Through the courtesy of Mr. Shea, a benefit matinee was given at Shea's Theatre when \$860 was realized. Mr. Michael of the Allendale also gave the receipts over and above expenses of a matinee; Mr. Adelbert Moot, ever a staunch friend, gave \$100 to be applied to free annual memberships. One hundred young women were selected who could be of practical use in furthering the Union's work. From this enthusiastic young life a Junior Board was formed and new enterprises started. All these efforts, however, brought but temporary financial relief. Two big items of expense, \$250 paid to a man injured by the Union's auto delivery, and \$500 for repairs to furnace, were rather discouraging at this time. Then came the pecuniary losses from the Kermess; while this was an artistic success in every way, it failed to bring the results confidently expected. It was quite impossible to go on longer without an assured income. Each year the expense of heating, lighting and repairs increased. While still doing yeoman's service in many directions, this service would not pay bills.

What was to be done? There seemed no alternative but for this non-sectarian, non-political, economically-run institution — its cause the cause of all women — to close its doors and go out of existence. To one of the directors came the happy thought of turning the building over to the University of Buffalo. That institution could carry on the educational work at least. The suggestion was ap-

proved by the executive committee which presented the following resolution to the board of directors:

RESOLVED, That the Women's Educational and Industrial Union transfer to the University of Buffalo in trust, to carry out, as stated in the articles of corporation, the educational purposes for which the Union was incorporated, the premises at Niagara Square and Delaware Avenue, known as the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.

RESOLVED, That in consideration of this gift the University of Buffalo guarantees to carry on the work and to create and maintain three free scholarships to be named by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and that the University of Buffalo assume current liabilities at the time of transfer.

RESOLVED, That if the University of Buffalo raises an endowment fund of \$100,000 within one year of the date of execution of the trust deed to guarantee the continuance of the work, the deed be made absolute.

RESOLVED, That this plan is submitted to the members of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, provided it be adopted by the University of Buffalo and its adoption be recommended by its board.

At a special meeting called January 16, 1915, twelve men representing the University of Buffalo directors met with the Union directors, when the matter was thoroughly discussed. At a special meeting of the Union Mrs. Wertimer, the president, explained the situation and the purpose for which the meeting was called. The resolution, which had been adopted by the board of directors, was then read by the secretary and its adoption moved by Mrs. Hurrell. After a discussion the resolution was adopted with but five negative votes.

Mr. Montgomery then presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the action by the executive committee of the board of directors be and hereby is confirmed and ratified, and that the board of directors be and hereby is authorized to take any and all

action that may be necessary to carry out and consummate the transfer of the premises of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union to the University of Buffalo.

Mr. Hamilton Ward was appointed to take charge of all legal matters for the Union in connection with the transference of the property. It was deemed wise that the Union withdraw from all its activities as soon as possible after the 1st of March, and that the University should be allowed to take possession of all rooms not needed by the Union for work which was necessarily continued until the annual meeting in May.

The three scholarships in the University at the Disposal of the Union were awarded by a committee of five, to Miss Rosario Rossell, Miss Ida Elliott, and Miss Ruth Schmidt. At a subsequent meeting of the directors it was voted that these scholarships hereafter be awarded by the University of Buffalo upon recommendation of a principal of one of the Buffalo High Schools. At the thirty-second Annual Meeting, May 2, 1916, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union authorized its board of directors to take the necessary steps to terminate the Union's corporate existence and to dispose of all its personal property — except cash in hand and the bonds and mortgages — either by gift or by sale.

It is interesting to note the changes which have taken place since the Union was founded thirty-two years ago. Then there were no women's club houses, no Settlement Houses, no City Federation, with its thousands of women interested in civic improvement, no manual training or trades schools, no probation officer, no night schools, no free kindergarten, no lunch rooms exclusively for women. Neither gymnastics nor domestic science was taught in the public schools. The Union was a pioneer worker in all these lines, and helped to mould public opinion. It was a power for good not only in its native city, but in the

State and Nation as well. Its aid in promoting better conditions was constantly sought from far and near. Organizations have multiplied, and the work originally carried on by the Union alone is now undertaken by many institutions, both public and private.

In closing this history let me quote from the report of the president, Mrs. Lucien Howe, read at the last annual meeting of the Union, May 2, 1916:

Barely has an institution been so preponderantly the expression of a single personality as has the Women's Union been of Mrs. Townsend. For those of us who knew the Union during the years of its growth this building is a place of ghosts. They meet one at every turn — the women of constructive power, the men of leading who were their advisors, and pervading all the indomitable will, the glowing personality, the spiritual radiance of the Union's founder and leader, Mrs. Townsend. Let us not forget that frail figure which stepped so slowly forward, at the University exercises on the 22d of last February when, out of silence and darkness, she spoke her farewell to the city which her life had enriched. "The Women's Union," said Mr. Norton, "has founded the University; here is the woman who founded the Union." It was indeed true. The Union grew by gifts which came because of her.

In the Arts and Science Department of the University of Buffalo we see a fulfillment of the Union's hopes for its future — a reincarnation of the Union as a center of liberal training in Buffalo.

Mrs. Townsend's death occurred December 29, 1916. To quote from the *Buffalo Express*:

Buffalo will remember Mrs. George W. Townsend with pride and affection. She worked in many ways for the well-being of the city, but the enterprise with which she will be remembered best is the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. When one remembers what the Women's Union of Buffalo stood for throughout the country as an object lesson and what it accomplished, it is plain to see what a title to remembrance Mrs. Townsend possessed in this one achievement. And yet it was but one interest in a useful life. Mrs. Townsend was a pioneer in work for improvement in the conditions and opportunities of women. She was a road-builder, so to speak, for their benefit, and she built enduringly. Her work will live after her.

APPENDICES

ACT OF INCORPORATION

WE, the undersigned, citizens and residents of the State of New York, of full age, being desirous of forming a corporation for educational, charitable, benevolent and library purposes under and in pursuance of an act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed April 12, 1848, and the acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, do hereby certify as follows:

I. The name of the Society so to be incorporated shall be "The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Buffalo."

II. The particular business and object of said Society shall be to increase fellowship among women, in order to promote the best practical methods for securing their educational, industrial and social advancement.

This shall be accomplished as follows:

1. By the establishment of a reading-room and library.
2. By maintaining a registry for the higher employment of women.
3. By organising and maintaining classes in educational and industrial branches.
4. By assisting poor women to collect debts and to establish their legal rights.
5. By assisting the worthy poor.
6. By giving courses of lectures on various topics and social entertainments.
7. By the establishment of a gymnasium for women.

III. There shall be a Board of Directors of said Society, which shall consist of thirty-six (36) members, and the names of such Directors for the first year of the corporate existence of said Society are:

CLARA ALTMAN,
MARY H. BIDWELL,
BARBARA A. BROWN,
JENNIE W. CARROLL,
A. JANE COOD,
LENNIE CROFTON,
ELLEN M. DAVIDSON,
AGNES A. FASSETT,
LOUISE FLACH,
LUCY JEWETT,
SARINA S. MERCHANT,
ELEANOR MOONEY,
LUCINDA OATMAN,
NORA PETTIBONE,
BERTHA ROSENBAUM,
LILY LORD TIFFT,
ANNA P. UNDERHILL,
ELIZABETH WADE,

MARY E. W. AUSTIN,
ELIZABETH BLOCHER,
HATTIE CALDWELL,
ALICE CLINTON,
HARRIET O. CRISBY,
MARY B. DANIELS,
LORINDA B. DUTTON,
GERTRUDE L. M. FISKE,
LOUISE B. HOLLISTER,
ANNA M. LETCHWORTH,
MARY B. MOODY, M. D.,
JENNIE WATSON NORTON,
LOUISE O'DAY,
KATE F. PUTNAM,
JENNIE RUMMILL,
HARRIET A. TOWNSEND,
CECILIA UTLEY,
CHARLOTTE S. WILLIAMS.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, at the City of Buffalo, this 15th day of May, 1885.

HARRIET A. TOWNSEND,
CHARLOTTE S. WILLIAMS,
CLARA ALTMAN.

188 WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF ERIE.

ss.

On this 15th day of May, 1885, before me personally came Harriet A. Townsend, Charlotte S. Williams, Clara Altman, Sarah A. Brown, Nora Pettibone, Elizabeth Wade, Selina S. Merchant, A. Jane Codd, Gertrude L. M. Flake, Harriet O. Crisay, Lily Lord Tift, Agnes A. Fassett, Cecelia Utley, Jennie Rumrill and Hattie Caldwell, to me known to be the individuals mentioned and who executed the foregoing certificate, and severally acknowledged that they had executed the same.

NATHANIEL S. ROSENAU,
Notary Public, Erie Co., N. Y.

I, the undersigned, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the Eighth Judicial District, do approve of the foregoing certificate and consent to the filing thereof.

HENRY A. CHILDS,
Justice Supreme Court.

OFFICERS OF THE "WOMEN'S UNION" 1884-1916

* Resigned. † Elected to fill vacancy. ‡ Deceased.

1884-85.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Abram Altman; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. V. Carroll; Rec. Sec., Miss Hattie Caldwell; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Lily Lord Tift; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. B. F. Bruce, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. I. O. Crisay, Miss Lizzie Cronyn, Mrs. Charles Daniels, Mrs. James Davidson, Mrs. Conrad Diehl, Mrs. E. H. Dutton, Mrs. F. F. Fargo, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Martha Favis, Mrs. Henry C. Jewett, Miss Anna M. Letchworth, Mrs. Mary B. Moody, M. D., Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. James O. Putnam, Miss Nora Pettibone, Mrs. David Rosenau, Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey, Mrs. J. F. Schoellkopf, Mrs. E. G. Spaulding, Mrs. C. M. Underhill, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. J. D. Warren, Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams.

Superintendent, Mrs. Mary V. Holmes.

1885-86

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Abram Altman; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. James Mooney; Rec. Sec., Miss Hattie Caldwell; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Porter Norton; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. I. G. Bidwell, Mrs. John Blocher, Mrs. William Brown, Mrs. P. V. Carroll, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. I. O. Crisay, Miss Lizzie Cronyn, Mrs. Charles Daniels, Mrs. James Davidson, Mrs. E. H. Dutton, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Henry O. Flake, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. Henry C. Jewett, Miss Anna M. Letchworth, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. Mary B. Moody, M. D., Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Miss Nora Pettibone, Mrs. James O. Putnam, Mrs. David Rosenau, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. C. M. Underhill, Mrs. Horace Utley, Mrs. Frank A. Wade.

Superintendent, Miss Annie L. Prindle.

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION 189

1886-87

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Abram Altman; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. James Mooney; Rec. Sec., Miss Hattie Caldwell; Cor. Sec., Miss Anna M. Letchworth, Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. I. G. Bidwell, Mrs. John Blocher, Mrs. William Brown, Mrs. P. V. Carroll, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. I. O. Crispy, Miss Lizzie Cronyn, Mrs. Charles Daniels, Mrs. James Davidson, Mrs. E. H. Dutton, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Henry C. Flake, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. Henry O. Jewett, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. Mary B. Moody, M. D., Mrs. Porter Norton, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Miss Nora Pettibone, Mrs. James O. Putnam, Mrs. David Roseman, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. C. M. Underhill, Mrs. Horace Utley, Mrs. Frank A. Wade.

Superintendent, Miss Ada L. Hudson.

1887-88

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. E. H. Dutton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. V. Carroll; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Lily Lord Tift; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. Emmet Austin, Mrs. John Blocher, Mrs. William Brown, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. I. O. Crispy, Mrs. Charles Daniels, Mrs. James Davidson, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Henry C. Flake, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Miss Anna M. Letchworth, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. Porter Norton, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Miss Nora Pettibone, Mrs. James O. Putnam, Mrs. C. H. Rathbun, Mrs. David Roseman, Mrs. Horace Utley, Mrs. Frank A. Wade.

Superintendent, Miss Ada L. Hudson.

1888-89

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. E. H. Dutton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. V. Carroll; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Lily Lord Tift; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. Arthur W. Austin, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. Emmet Austin, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. George Bleistein, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Alice A. Cooke, Mrs. I. O. Crispy, Mrs. Charles Daniels, Mrs. Henry C. Flake, Mrs. Richard Flach, Miss Abby Grosvenor, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. Porter Norton, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Miss Nora Pettibone, Mrs. C. H. Rathbun, Mrs. David Roseman, Mrs. Horace Utley, Mrs. Frank A. Wade.

Superintendent to February 1, 1889, Miss Ada L. Hudson. Succeeded by Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1889-90

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. E. H. Dutton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Daniel O'Day; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Porter Norton; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

190 WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. Arthur W. Austin, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. Emmet Austin, Mrs. E. P. Bach, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Alice A. Cooke, Mrs. I. O. Crisay, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. P. H. Griffin, Miss Abby Grosvenor, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. E. P. Hussey, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. C. H. Rathbun, Miss Mary A. Ripley, Mrs. David Roeman, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1890-91

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Daniel O'Day; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Alice A. Cooke, *Mrs. I. O. Crisay, Mrs. E. H. Dutton, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. F. H. Goodyear, Mrs. P. H. Griffin, *Miss Abby Grosvenor, Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. E. P. Hussey, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, †Miss Anna M. Letchworth, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Norris Morey, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. M. A. Ransom, Miss Mary A. Ripley, Mrs. David Roeman, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank Wade.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1891-92

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. H. Griffin; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, †Mrs. Alice A. Cooke, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. †F. H. Goodyear, *Mrs. E. P. Hollister, Mrs. E. P. Hussey, Mrs. H. D. Ingraham, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, †Mrs. Charles Lutz, *Miss Anna M. Letchworth, †Mrs. Emanuel Levi, Mrs. George H. Lewis, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. James Mooney, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Norris Morey, Mrs. L. S. Oatman, Mrs. M. A. Ransom, Miss Mary A. Ripley, †Mrs. James A. Roberts, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. George Wing.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1892-93.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. H. Griffin; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Rumrill.

Directors: Mrs. Abram Altman, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Mrs. J. O. Bryant, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. F. H. Goodyear, Mrs. H. D. Ingraham, Miss Ada M. Kenyon, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon,

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION 191

Mrs. Charles Lautz, Mrs. Emanuel Levi, Mrs. George H. Lewis, Mrs. Charles P. Lytle, Mrs. George A. Merchant, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. T. M. Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Norris Morey, Mrs. M. A. Ransom, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. George Wing.
Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1898-94.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. H. Griffin; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Bumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Austin, † Mrs. E. P. Bach, † Mrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, * Mrs. S. P. Bliss, * Mrs. J. C. Bryant, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Leonard Dodge, † Mrs. Eugene L. Falk, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Richard Flach, Mrs. F. H. Goodyear, Mrs. H. D. Ingraham, Miss Ada M. Kenyon, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Charles Lautz, * Mrs. Emanuel Levi, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth, * Mrs. George H. Lewis, Mrs. Charles P. Lytle, Mrs. George A. Merchant, † Mrs. H. R. Milinowski, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. T. M. Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Edward R. Rice, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. George Wing.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1894-95.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. P. H. Griffin; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Bumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, Dr. Ida C. Bender, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Robert Codd, † Mrs. Daniel Desbecker, Mrs. Leonard Dodge, * Mrs. Eugene L. Falk, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. F. H. Goodyear, * Miss Abbie Grosvenor, † Mrs. Lucien Howe, Miss Ada M. Kenyon, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Charles Lautz, Mrs. Josiah Letchworth, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth, Mrs. Charles P. Lytle, Mrs. H. R. Milinowski, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. T. M. Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Edward R. Rice, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. George Wing.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1895-96

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Porter Norton; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Daniel Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Jennie Bumrill.

Directors: Mrs. D. S. Alexander, Mrs. D. S. Austin, Mrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, Dr. Ida C. Bender, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. J. W. Bridgman, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Walter P. Cooke, Mrs. Charles S. Dakin, Mrs. Leonard Dodge, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, Mrs. Lucien Howe, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, * Mrs. Josiah Letchworth, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth, Mrs. Joseph B. Mayer, * Mrs. H. R. Milinowski, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. T. M. Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, † Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien, Mrs. Edward R. Rice, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Miss

192 *WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION*

Amelia Stevenson, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, †Mrs. Stephen Walker, Mrs. George Wing.

Superintendent, Mrs. Josephine B. Loomis.

1896-97

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Daniel Desbecker; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. D. S. Alexander; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill.

Directors: †Mrs. D. S. Austin, †Miss Anna W. Ballard, *Mrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, Dr. Ida C. Bender, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. J. W. Bridgman, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, *Miss Hattie Caldwell, Mrs. Lucas Chester, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Walter P. Cooke, Mrs. Charles S. Dakin, Mrs. James M. Drill, Mrs. Henry O. Flake, Mrs. Lucien Howe, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth, Mrs. Joseph B. Mayer, Mrs. Chester Moore, Mrs. T. M. Moore, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Porter Norton, Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien, †Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Miss Amelia Stevenson, †Mrs. D. J. Stickney, Mrs. Lily Lord Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. Stephen Walker, Mrs. George Wing.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1897-98

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Joseph B. Mayer; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill.

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Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1898-99

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Joseph B. Mayer; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth.

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Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION 193

1899-1900

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams, 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Flake; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas Stoddart; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth.

Directors: Miss Anna W. Ballard, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Herbert P. Bissell, Mrs. Louis A. Bull, Mrs. Lucas Chester, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Walter P. Cooke, Dr. Mary I. Denton, Mrs. Benjamin Deabecker, Mrs. James M. Drill, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, *Mrs. Joseph B. Mayer, †Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. James A. Roberts, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Miss Amelia Stevenson, Mrs. F. W. Taylor, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. Stephen Walker, Mrs. Thomas C. Welch, Mrs. Charles G. Williams.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1900-01

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams, 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Flake; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas Stoddart; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth.

Directors: Miss Anna W. Ballard, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Herbert P. Bissell, Mrs. J. W. Bridgman, Mrs. Lucas Chester, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. Robert Codd, Mrs. Walter P. Cooke, Dr. Mary I. Denton, Mrs. Daniel Deabecker, *Mrs. James M. Drill, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, †Mrs. John M. Horton, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. Walter C. Nichols, Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Miss Amelia Stevenson, Mrs. Charles P. Stevenson, Mrs. F. W. Taylor, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, †Mrs. Charles G. Williams.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1901-02

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin H. Williams, 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Flake; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas Stoddart; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Ellie J. Shepard; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth.

Directors: Mrs. Cyrus A. Allen, Miss Anna W. Ballard, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Herbert P. Bissell, Mrs. J. W. Bridgman, Mrs. Lucas Chester, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. Robert Codd, Dr. Mary I. Denton, Mrs. Benjamin Deabecker, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. Alfred Haines, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. John M. Horton, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, Mrs. Albert E. Jones, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Walter C. Nichols, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. Charles P. Stevenson, Mrs. Louis W. Simpson, Mrs. F. W. Taylor, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, †Miss Mary H. Williams.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1902-03.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Flake; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Jennie Rumrill; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas Stoddart; Rec. Sec., Mrs. F. W. Barrows; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Arthur W. Austin; Treasurer, Mrs. W. O. Letchworth.

194 *WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION*

Directors: Mrs. Cyrus A. Allen, Miss Anna W. Ballard, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. J. W. Bridgman, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, † Mrs. James W. Clement, Mrs. Robert L. Cox, Dr. Mary I. Denton, Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Thomas M. Gibson, Mrs. Alfred Haines, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. Eli T. Hoamer, Mrs. E. Merton Husted, Mrs. Albert E. Jones, Mrs. William G. Justice, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Walter C. Nichols, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. George H. Selkirk, *Mrs. Louis W. Simpson, Mrs. Charles P. Stevenson, Mrs. F. W. Taylor, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Miss Mary E. Walker.
Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1903-04.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Fiske; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Thomas Stoddart; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Franklin W. Barrows; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Frank A. Wade; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

Directors: Mrs. Cyrus A. Allen, Miss Anna W. Ballard, Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. James W. Clement, Mrs. Robert L. Cox, Dr. Mary I. Denton, Mrs. A. J. Elias, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Frank L. Georger, Mrs. Thomas M. Gibson, Mrs. Alfred Haines, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. E. C. Holbrook, Mrs. Eli T. Hoamer, Mrs. E. Merton Husted, Mrs. Albert E. Jones, Mrs. William G. Justice, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. George H. Selkirk, Mrs. M. Emmett Taber, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Miss Mary E. Walker, Mrs. Truman C. White.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1904-05.

President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Henry C. Fiske; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. N. G. Benedict; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Franklin W. Barrows; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Frank A. Wade; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

Directors: Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. James W. Clement, Mrs. Robert L. Cox, Mrs. A. J. Elias, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. T. S. Fassett, Mrs. Frank L. Georger, Mrs. Reuben J. Getz, Mrs. Thomas M. Gibson, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. E. C. Holbrook, Mrs. John Miller Horton, Mrs. Eli T. Hoamer, Mrs. E. Merton Husted, Mrs. William G. Justice, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. George H. Selkirk, Miss Effie H. Shiels, Mrs. F. Hyatt Smith, Miss Amelia Stevenson, Mrs. M. Emmett Taber, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. Henry Wertimer, Mrs. Truman C. White, Mrs. Eugene A. Vaughn.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1905-06.

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Truman C. White; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Jennie Rumrill; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Franklin W. Barrows; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Frank A. Wade; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

Directors: Mrs. N. G. Benedict, Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke, Mrs. James W. Clement, Mrs. Robert L. Cox, *Mrs. Charles S. Dakin, Mrs. A. J. Elias, Mrs. D. M. Estee, † Mrs. Edward Gaskin, Mrs. Reuben J. Getz, Mrs. Thomas M.

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION 195

Gibson, Mrs. P. H. Griffin, Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. E. O. Holbrook, Mrs. John Miller Horton, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, * Mrs. E. Merton Husted, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Andrew Langdon, Mrs. James B. Parke, † Mrs. George A. Plimpton, * Mrs. George A. Ricker, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. George H. Selkirk, Miss Effie H. Shiels, Mrs. F. Hyatt Smith, Miss Amelia Stevenson, Mrs. M. Emmett Taber, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. Henry Wertimer, Mrs. Eugene A. Vaughn.
Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1906-07.

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Truman C. White; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Jennie Rumrill; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Robert L. Cox; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Frank A. Wade; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

Directors: Mrs. Julius Altman, Mrs. Franklin W. Barrows, Mrs. Edward W. Butt, Mrs. James W. Clement, † Mrs. Arthur W. Decker, Mrs. D. M. Estee, Mrs. Edward Gaskin, Mrs. Reuben J. Getz, Mrs. Thomas M. Gibson, Mrs. Fred Greiner, Miss Emily J. Hawkins, † Mrs. William Hengerer, Mrs. John Miller Horton, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, Mrs. L. M. Kenyon, Mrs. Andrew Langdon, Mrs. George E. More, Mrs. James B. Parke, Mrs. George A. Plimpton, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. George H. Selkirk, * Miss Effie H. Shiels, Mrs. Anselm J. Smith, Miss Amelia Stevenson, † Mrs. Frederick D. Towne, Mrs. G. R. Trowbridge, Mrs. Eugene A. Vaughn, Mrs. Charles R. Walker, Mrs. Henry Wertimer.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1907-08.

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Truman C. White; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Jennie Rumrill; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer; Cor. Sec., Mrs. D. M. Estee; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

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Superintendent, Miss Ada E. Iggulden.

1908-09

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Henry C. Fiske, 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Truman C. White; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Mark Packard; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. James W. Clement; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Edward W. Butt; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Walter S. Jenkins; Treasurer, Mrs. W. C. Letchworth.

Directors: † Mrs. Judson B. Andrews, † Mrs. Alice B. Arnold, Mrs. George Bingham, Mrs. Graeme P. Clarkson, Mrs. Arthur W. Decker, Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker, Mrs. Leonard Dodge, Mrs. Arthur H. Doolittle, Mrs. Edward Gaskin, Mrs. Fred Greiner, Mrs. J. W. Grosvenor, Miss Emily J. Hawkins, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, Mrs. James S. Ladd, † Mrs. Andrew Langdon, Mrs. Harry E. McClure, † Mrs. Adelbert Moot, Mrs. George E. More, Mrs. Walter O. Nichols, * Mrs. George A. Plimpton,

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Mrs. D. Frederick Potter, Mrs. Thomas B. Reading, †Mrs. De Lancey Rochester, †Mrs. Jennie Rumrill, Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk, Mrs. Anselm J. Smith, Mrs. Wilbur F. Smallwood, Mrs. Willson Tift, Mrs. Frank A. Wade, *Mrs. Charles B. Walker, *Mrs. C. M. Wilson.

Superintendent, Miss Ada E. Iggulden.

1909-10

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Thomas B. Reading; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. William O. Letchworth; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Mark Packard; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Adelbert Moot; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Edward W. Butt; Cor. Sec., Mrs. Charles E. Selkirk; Treasurer, Mrs. Walter S. Jenkins.

Directors: Mrs. Judson B. Andrews, Mrs. B. Alice Arnold, Mrs. George Bingham, Mrs. Albert H. Briggs, *Mrs. Graeme P. Clarkson, Mrs. Arthur W. Decker, †Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker, Mrs. Leonard Dodge, Mrs. Arthur H. Doolittle, Mrs. Henry O. Fiske, Mrs. Edward Gaskin, Mrs. Fred Greiner, Mrs. J. W. Grosvenor, Mrs. Franklin B. Hower, Mrs. James A. Ladd, Mrs. Amelia D. Loeberick, Mrs. Harry E. McClure, Mrs. John Macgregor, †Mrs. Roland O. Meisenbach, Mrs. George E. More, Mrs. Walter O. Nichols, Mrs. John B. Olmsted, *Mrs. D. Frederick Potter, †Mrs. Andrew J. Purdy, *Mrs. Joseph F. Roselli, Mrs. De Lancey Rochester, Mrs. Wilbur F. Smallwood, Mrs. Anselm J. Smith, Mrs. Walter W. Steele, *Mrs. Willson S. Tift, Mrs. Henry Wertimer, Mrs. Truman C. White.

Superintendent, Miss Jean Agnew.

1910-11

Honorary President, Mrs. George W. Townsend; President, Mrs. Adelbert Moot; 1st Vice-Pres., Mrs. Leonard Dodge; 2d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Walter O. Nichols; 3d Vice-Pres., Mrs. Benjamin Desbecker; Rec. Sec., Mrs. Edward W. Butt; Cor. Sec. Mrs. Harry Wertimer; Treasurer, Mrs. Walter S. Jenkins.

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1911-12

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**HISTORICAL SKETCH OF
NIAGARA SHIP CANAL
PROJECTS**

BY HON. HENRY W. HILL

NOTE.

The following historical study, by Hon. Henry W. Hill, President of the Buffalo Historical Society, was prepared for the Canal Committee of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and constituted a report of that committee, as set forth in the following, from the records of the Chamber of Commerce:

At the regular monthly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, held on Tuesday evening, May 8, 1917, at 6.15 o'clock, the following report, submitted by the Canal Committee, reviewing the history of inland waterways projects in relation to New York State, Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and discussing the project of a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario as a political, naval or military necessity and as a commercial waterway, was presented and the resolution embracing the conclusions of the Canal Committee, as printed herein, was unanimously approved.

The historical character of the report, and the intimate relation of its author to the activities of the Buffalo Historical Society are deemed sufficient reasons for including it in the present volume.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF NIAGARA SHIP CANAL PROJECTS

OR A SHIP CHANNEL BETWEEN LAKE ERIE AND LAKE
ONTARIO

BY HON. HENRY W. HILL
President of the Buffalo Historical Society

The Canal Committee of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce has had under consideration that provision contained in Section 2 of the Rivers and Harbors Act of Congress, approved July 27, 1916, authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to cause a preliminary examination and survey for a waterway or ship channel along the most practical route between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario of sufficient capacity to admit the largest vessels in use on the Great Lakes, and submit the following report:

The mandatory terms of the Act of Congress leave little that can be done at this late day, other than to call attention to some of the similar and other projects during the past two centuries, which were designed to establish navigable communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. All such practical information may be useful in determining what the Federal government ought to do in the premises on the subject. This has necessarily extended the report beyond the mere conclusions of the committee.

The Niagara Ship Canal project is not a new one and is periodically reoccurring. A review of the acts of the State and Federal governments in relation to the matter, as it

has hitherto been pressed for consideration, may aid the directors of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce and others in determining whether or not the project is of sufficient importance to warrant the enormous expenditure of money necessary for its construction and operation.

Your committee has considered the subject of the Niagara Ship Canal under the following heads:

First: An historical view of the project;

Second: The project as a political, naval or military necessity;

Third: The project as a commercial waterway.

The history of the project for such proposed uses, however, is not chronologically consecutive and is necessarily more or less involved on account of the individual, corporate, State and Federal activities put forth for its accomplishment. That, however, does not preclude an historical review of such principal attempts hitherto made to secure such a waterway prefatory to the conclusions of the canal committee as hereinafter stated.

I. AN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

In a report of a special agent of the French Government, named Clerambaut d'Aigremont, dated October 18, 1710, occurs the following in its English version:

When I passed the portage at Niagara it did not appear to me that any communication between Lake Ontario or Lake Erie could be made that could avoid this portage, and if M. de la Mothe (Cadillac) knows a means of doing so, I think he is the only man in the country who does. But, My Lord, even if it were true that a communication with Lake Ontario or Lake Erie could be made, it could only be done with very great expense and it would not follow from that, that Detroit would be able to obtain from Montreal any help it might need in

case of war with the Iroquois, for such help could not even be given to Fort Frontenac, which has to be passed through on the way to Detroit.

Prior to the surrender of Fort Niagara to the British on July 25, 1759, the western part of the State was under the control of the French Government and there is no record of any attempt to establish navigable communication between Lakes Erie and Ontario during that period, nor for the several decades thereafter.

It will be remembered that a trading post was established at Niagara as early as 1720, and that in the year 1721, there was the "beginning of a great trade with the Indians upon the Great Lakes," and that Cadwallader Colden, in his "Memorial Concerning the Furr-trade of the Province of New York," presented to Sir William Burnet, Captain-General and Governor of the Province under date of November, 1724, called attention to the water-carriage between the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River with short land carriages between them.

In that remarkable memorial he also called attention to the advantages of the inland waterways of the state, extending from Albany to the country of the Senecas, over which goods and furs might be easily and economically transported and which he considered "more advantageous than the way the French were obliged to take by the great Fall of Jagara (Niagara), because narrow rivers are safer than the lakes, where they were obliged to go ashore, if there be any wind upon them."

The memorial is a long and intelligent presentation of the advantages possessed by the Province of New York over the St. Lawrence route to the sea through the then French territory. To him may be ascribed the credit of being the first to point out the remarkable system of waterways in New York, which might easily be made to intercommunicate as was afterwards done. However, he did not suggest a navigable waterway between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

FIRST LEGISLATIVE ACT IN 1792.

In the extension of the routes and increasing volume of trade westerly from the Hudson to and beyond the Great Lakes during three-fourths of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the general use of the lakes, rivers and streams of the Province as the principal highways of trade and travel, nothing was done to effect navigable communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, though Sir Henry Moore, Governor of the Province, in 1768, proposed the construction of a canal around Little Falls on the plan of the Grand Canal of Languedoc in France to establish water communication between the Hudson and Lake Ontario. No details are obtainable of a reported canal survey around Niagara Falls in 1784.

The first legislative act of the State authorizing the construction of artificial canals to connect its natural navigable waters was chapter 40 of the laws of 1792. The act authorized the incorporation of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, for the purpose of opening a lock navigation from the Hudson to Lake Ontario and from the Three-River Point up Seneca River to the lakes of Western New York for boats of two feet draft, 40 feet long and 20 feet wide, and fifteen years in time was allotted to the company for the construction of the entire works. That, however, did not provide for navigable communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

The first State law on the subject was chapter 92 of the laws of 1798 entitled, "An Act for Opening the Navigation Between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario," incorporating "The Niagara Canal Company," which company was authorized to lay out and survey the most practical route between the navigable waters of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and to construct a canal by means of locks and other devices large enough to admit the passage of vessels 70 feet long, 16 feet

wide and having a draft of four feet. That company was given ten years to complete the project, but did nothing.

In 1808, a concurrent resolution of Assembly and Senate was adopted, authorizing an accurate survey of the rivers, streams and waters in the usual route of communication between the Hudson River and Lake Erie and such other contemplated route as the surveyor-general might deem proper and cause the same to be delineated on charts or maps for that purpose, one copy of which survey was to be filed with the Secretary of State and another copy was to be transmitted to the President of the United States.

James Geddes was appointed to make that survey and among the directions given him by the Surveyor-General, Simeon De Witt, was "the ground between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, which must be examined with a view to determine what will be the most eligible track for a canal from below Niagara Falls to Lake Erie and to have the level taken throughout the whole distance between the two lakes." Mr. Geddes made such survey from the outlet of Lake Erie down the rapids at Black Rock, where he estimated the fall at four feet seven inches and to the lower storehouse at Black Rock at six feet, thence to Schlosser's, a distance of 18 miles, where he estimated the fall at nine feet and thence to Lewiston, where he estimated the fall at 317 feet, and from Lewiston to Lake Ontario, a distance of six miles, he estimated the fall at two feet, making the entire fall from lake to lake 334 feet.

The Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways, with all their facilities for accurate measurements, in 1898, estimated the difference in mean levels of the two lakes at 330 feet, only four feet less than the estimate made by James Geddes earlier, and that difference may have been due to high waters in Lake Erie when his measurements were made. He described the method of transporting salt and other merchandise from Lewiston over the Niagara portage

eight miles to Schlosser's and thence by boat to the upper storehouse at Black Rock. The charge was 75 cents per barrel of salt and one dollar per barrel for other merchandise.

James Geddes suggested two routes for a sloop canal between the lakes, one crossing the Tonawanda creek on an aqueduct via Cayuga Island, across Gill creek to the brow of the mountain (Niagara escarpment) and the other via Gill creek, thence through a side cut to the Mills and to the top of the mountain (Niagara escarpment). He proposed that both routes converge at the point and descend to the river through a flight of locks far enough to prevent great waste of water, "or," said he, "the vessels below might sail almost under the boats above, and the goods be draws on *ways* up 315 perpendicular feet, by means of machinery wrought by the water which would run through the canal."

The first proposed route required an artificial cut from Lake Erie to Lewiston, little more than 26 miles, with very little rock and the second proposed route involved four miles more of rock cut than the first route had. At that time (1808) there were no wagon roads between Schlosser's and Black Rock, and James Geddes was obliged to ride his horse across creeks and swim him over others. James Geddes also surveyed an interior canal route via Cayuga marshes, Mud creek, Tonawanda creek and Niagara river to Lake Erie.

INTERIOR ROUTE TO BE PREFERRED.

In his comparison of the Ontario with the interior route, he called attention to the argument, then insisted upon, in favor of the latter; namely, "that it would be bad policy in the United States to open a communication for sloops between Erie and Ontario, as the products of all the upper lakes would, on their passage to the ocean, come into On-

tario and when there, the lockage to the tide in the St. Lawrence being only 206 feet, while it is 574 feet to the tide in the Hudson, there would be danger of the whole lake trade being diverted to a port in the territory of another nation. . . . The interior route to be preferred, as being free from the risk and uncertainty of the wind and wave" on Lake Ontario. (I, Canal Laws, 31.)

That argument is still relevant to the discussion of the policy to be adopted by the United States government and is being used with some force in opposition to the proposed Niagara Ship Canal.

In 1808, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, reported on a canal for sloop navigation around Niagara Falls at an estimated cost of one million dollars, but Congress took no action thereon.

In 1810, Senator John Pope of Kentucky introduced a bill in the Senate of the United States for many waterway projects, including a canal to pass the cataract of Niagara. That failed of passage. At the same session of Congress, Hon. Peter B. Porter presented a resolution in the House of Representatives authorizing the appointment of a committee to examine into the expediency of appropriating public lands for the opening of roads and canals. Mr. Porter, as chairman of that committee, reported a bill for the improvement of roads and canals, among which was a provision "for opening canals from the Hudson to take Ontario and around the Falls of Niagara."

Cadwallader D. Colden reported in his Memoir that, in 1810, the Legislature was memorialized by many citizens in different parts of the state, that Canada was attracting the greatest part of our internal commerce in consequence of the facilities, which were offered by water communications, to transport commodities to her markets.

On March 13, 1810, the State Senate adopted a resolution appointing seven commissioners, including Gouverneur

Morris and De Witt Clinton, to procure such surveys as to them shall seem necessary and proper in relation to inland navigation from the Hudson river to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, which was concurred in by the Assembly on March 15, 1810. On March 2, 1811, the commissioners made their report to the Legislature. In that report, among other things, in response to the question: "Would it not be advisable to descend from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, rather than encounter the difficulty and expense of building a canal from Lake Erie via the Cayuga marshes to the Hudson river?" the commissioners stated that they "believe it would not; . . . it is sufficient to say that articles for exportation, when once afloat on Lake Ontario, will, generally speaking, go to Montreal, unless our British neighbors are blind to their own interests. . . . It is probable that a good sloop navigation from above the gallots to Montreal would cost less than a good boat navigation from Oswego to Rome. The extent of this last, deducting the Oneida lake, is 56 miles; the fall is on an average near 40 inches per mile; the supply of water is doubtful and in 12 miles of the distance, obstacles almost insurmountable present themselves."

Some of the principal reasons for a canal along the interior route were that its water supply might be largely drawn from Lake Erie for that part of the canal extending from Lake Erie to Montezuma and that some of the lakes of Central New York might also be drawn upon as feeders for the canal in its middle and a part of its western divisions. The lowest point in its middle and western divisions of the proposed canal was at the proposed Seneca aqueduct, whose spillway afterwards constructed was 393 feet above tidewater, approximately 144 feet above the level of Lake Ontario, thus avoiding the 144 feet lockage down to Lake Ontario and then the 144 feet lockage up from that lake to the lowest level of any part of the Erie canal subsequently

constructed; or, in other words, there was to be a saving of 288 feet in canal lockage via the interior route as compared with the Ontario route, and what is still more important on account of the limited water supply on the Rome summit level, as hereinafter stated, there would be the great saving in water required to operate such 288 feet of additional canal lockage. The Rome summit level is approximately 170 feet above the level of Lake Ontario. It would have been necessary to have overcome that elevation by locks had the Ontario route been selected for the original Erie canal.

TURNED COMMERCE OF THE UPPER LAKES.

After discussing the advantages of the interior New York State route over those of Ontario-St. Lawrence river route, the commissioners said that "It is evident that the canal will, if properly effected, turn to the United States the commerce of the upper lakes." That prophecy was abundantly fulfilled in the vast Great Lakes' tonnage over the Erie canal for three-fourths of a century after its completion in 1825.

The act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of the state, passed April 8, 1811, authorized Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton and seven other commissioners to make application to the Congress of the United States and legislature of any state or territory to co-operate and aid in the undertaking of establishing canal navigation between the Great Lakes and the Hudson river.

Only the States of Tennessee, Massachusetts and Ohio instructed their representatives in Congress to favor the project. Michigan opposed the interior route, but favored a canal around the cataract of Niagara and another by the Falls of Oswego. The New York Commissioners inferred that decision was due to information not founded in fact, although President Madison sent a special message to Con-

gress on the subject and a bill was introduced to appropriate four million acres of land to the State of New York as soon as canal navigation be opened between Lake Erie and the Hudson river, 63 feet wide on the top, 45 feet wide on the bottom and 5 feet deep, for boats 60 feet long, 18 feet wide and drawing 3 feet of water. The committee, to which the bill was referred, failed to make a favorable report thereon. Various reasons were assigned for such non-action. From that time to the present, Congress has made no appropriation of lands or money towards the cost of the construction of any of the New York canals, nor of a Niagara ship canal. In their report, under date of March 14, 1812, the commissioners opposed the Niagara-Ontario route for various reasons, one of which they stated as follows, that "Instead of drawing to us the trade of our neighbors it would turn much of our trade to them."

In their lengthy report are presented the facts that ultimately led to the adoption of the interior route instead of the Ontario route.

The Canal Commissioners reported again on March 8, 1814, quoting with approval the statement of William Weston, the distinguished engineer, formerly employed by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Co. in substance that "the stupendous plan of uniting Lake Erie with the Hudson . . . would insure the commerce of the immense extent of country bordering upon the upper lakes . . . and would in its eventual consequences render New York the greatest commercial emporium in the world." Water might be taken for the canal from Lake Erie as far as Seneca river.

Again on March 8, 1816, the Canal Commissioners reported among other things, that "the route from Rome to the Seneca river . . . would have the most immediate tendency to divert the trade from passing down the Oswego river to Lake Ontario and Montreal, to permit

which would be improvidently to abandon to a foreign and a rival nation commercial advantages, which ages may not enable us to reclaim." That was the opinion of such Canal Commissioners and statesmen as Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Simeon De Witt, Peter B. Porter, Thomas Eddy, Robert Fulton and Charles D. Cooper a century ago and is worthy of serious consideration in forecasting the results that may still follow from the construction of a ship canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario, for it will not be practicable to operate as economically a ship canal from Oswego to the Hudson as down the St. Lawrence to the ocean. That was pointed out by William Weston in 1812. Further reference to the subject will hereinafter appear.

In the memorial of the citizens of New York in 1816, in favor of canal navigation between the western lakes and tidewaters of the Hudson, it is stated that "when a vessel once descends into Ontario, she will pursue the course ordained by nature. The British Government are fully aware of this and are now taking the most active measures to facilitate the passage down the St. Lawrence."

For a time that settled the controversy. The argument then used applies with equal force today.

In November, 1816, a further appeal was made to Congress and to Ohio, Kentucky and Vermont (I, Canal Laws, 269), for aid, but Ohio alone, responded, offering to co-operate if some feasible plan could be formulated agreeable to both states (I, Canal Laws, 280). The Government of the United States was expected to appropriate lands or money (I, Canal Laws, 280, 285), but it failed to do so.

CORPORATION EFFORT WHICH FAILED.

In 1826, Nathan S. Roberts, the engineer in charge of the construction of the locks at Lockport and the Erie canal from Lockport to Buffalo in 1822 to 1825, was engaged by individuals to make a survey of a proposed ship canal

around Niagara Falls. That was made for the purpose of securing a charter from the State for a corporation to build and operate such a canal. Mr. Roberts at that time made such a survey for a canal 60 feet wide at the surface, 36 feet wide at the bottom and 8 feet deep. Such a canal would hardly be large enough for the accommodation of war vessels of any considerable size.

The Utica Convention of 1834 memorialized the Legislature and Congress to construct navigable communication between Lake Ontario and the Hudson river and also between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, primarily for commercial purposes and incidentally as a military defense, but the size of the waterway advocated by that convention would have been inadequate to admit war vessels of more than eight feet draft, thus showing that the argument as a political, naval or military necessity was made merely as an aid to secure the favorable action of Congress on a commercial project. Congress made no response to that memorial.

In 1835-6, Captain William G. Williams surveyed four routes for a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. One route was via Niagara river and Lewiston, and another via Niagara river, Gill and Four-Mile creeks to Lake Ontario, and another via Cayuga and the Twelve-Mile creek to Lake Ontario, and another via Niagara river, Tonawanda creek, Lockport and Eighteen-Mile creek. He estimated the cost of these at from two and one-half to five millions of dollars. He proposed to make locks 200 feet long, 50 feet wide, 10 feet deep, and the canal 110 feet wide at the surface. The locks were not to have a lift exceeding 10 feet with intermediate basins between the locks. He also urged its construction for military purposes as well as a commercial necessity.¹

1. Print copies of the surveys and profile maps of the several routes surveyed by Captain William G. Williams for the proposed Niagara Ship Canal are in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society. In the same depository, and in the Grosvenor

House Document No. 174 of the 1st Session of the 24th Congress, bearing dated March 2, 1836, contains a topographical survey of the harbor at the Eighteen-Mile creek, made by Captain William G. Williams of the United States Topographical Engineers for the purpose of securing a channel 75 feet wide and 10 feet deep for a distance of 1,500 feet. In 1837, the Legislature of Ohio adopted a resolution relative to such a ship canal.

House Document No. 463 of the 2d session of the 25th Congress, dated January, 1838, is the report of the committee on roads and canals of the House of Representatives on a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara and contains a recital of the various efforts theretofore made by the State and National governments to establish such a navigable waterway between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario to accommodate the larger class of steamboats or vessels navigating Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. It was based upon and included the survey of Captain William G. Williams, made in 1835-1836.

A joint resolution was presented in the Assembly on February 15, 1840, reading as follows: "That the consent of the Legislature is hereby given to the construction, by the Governor of the state, of a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara, and that the Senators and Representatives of this state in the Congress of the United States be requested to use their best efforts to procure the passage of a bill for this purpose." That was concurred in by the Senate on April 18, 1840. Nothing, however, was done by Congress of the United States in relation thereto.

The Michigan Legislature presented a resolution to the House of Representatives, under date of December 29, 1849, directing its Senators and Representatives in Congress to

Library at Buffalo, may be found many maps, papers, publications and documents relating to this and other activities in the region. The writer takes this opportunity to express to the officers of both the Grosvenor Library and the Buffalo Historical Society his appreciation of the courtesies extended to him in placing at his disposal the material in their libraries for his use in the preparation of this report.

use all honorable means in obtaining appropriations of money for the construction of a ship canal by the general government around the Falls of Niagara, uniting the waters of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, both as a commercial necessity and a military expediency. The report (Senate Misc. Doc. No. 5, 1st Session, 31st Congress) was based upon the survey of Captain William G. Williams.

CONGRESS REFUSED TO AID PROJECT.

A corporation with a capital stock of \$5,000,000 was incorporated under chapter 595 of the laws of 1853, authorizing the construction of a canal from some point above Niagara Falls to some place below the Falls or on the shore of Lake Ontario to allow vessels of at least 500 tons burthen to pass through it. However, it was unable to proceed with the work, and the Legislature of Illinois, on February 28, 1854, adopted a resolution, which was presented to Congress on March 21, 1854 (House Misc. Doc. No. 36 of the 1st Session of the 33d Congress), reciting that:

WHEREAS, A New York Company had been formed in 1853 to build a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara and was unable to proceed without the aid of national government, therefore be it

Resolved. That the Representatives in Congress from the state of Illinois be instructed to favor and to make such grant of lands as they may deem just and necessary in aid of the completion, at as early a date as is practicable, a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara in accordance with the Act of the Legislature of New York upon that subject, passed July 1, 1853.²

Congress took no action thereon.

In 1854, Charles B. Stuart and Edward Serrell reported on the proposed Niagara ship canal as follows:

"For this project various plans have been proposed and surveys made at different periods during the past half century."

² See House Misc. Doc. No. 36, 1st Session, 33d Congress.

The principal examination theretofore made was that of the late Captain William G. Williams, United States Topographical Engineer in 1835-1836, of which an able report was submitted to Congress with information as to the feasibility of the route. Their estimates were based upon the cost of a canal of sufficient capacity to accommodate vessels then in use, which was not larger than would be necessary for thousand-ton canal barges.

On May 11, 1858, a committee of the House of Representatives reported in favor of a bill granting lands to aid in the construction of the Niagara Ship Canal, basing their report largely on the survey of Captain William G. Williams of the United States Topographical Engineers, which survey was made in 1835, and upon the experience of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company between Seneca Falls and Schenectady, and upon the joint resolution of New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, and upon resolutions of Boards of Trade in Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Racine and other western towns. This last Congressional report is a lengthy one and contains a resume of some of the preceding steps taken to establish such waterway communication between those lakes. Its recital of facts is not entirely accurate and its recommendations do not appear to have been adopted.³

In 1862, Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, urged upon the Congress of the United States the construction of gunboat locks in the Erie and Oswego canals, which Congress declined to construct.

The National Canal Convention of 1863, in which Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles was a prominent member, favored the construction or enlargement of ship canals connecting the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean as of national, military and commercial importance with dimensions sufficient to

³ See Reports of Committee of the House of Representatives, Vol. 3, 1857-1858.

pass gunboats, on the ground that they would furnish the most efficient means of protecting the northern frontier.

The State Senate Committee on Commerce and Navigation in January, 1864, reported in favor of the construction, by a corporation, of a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and in 1866 such a company was incorporated, though primarily for commercial purposes as will hereinafter appear.

In the Report No. 53 of the 3d Session of the 37th Congress presented by the select committee on the Niagara Ship Canal, dated March 3, 1863, it is stated that "the project of the ship canal to connect the navigable waters of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario has for many years claimed the attention of the general government as one of conceded public utility and one whose construction is immediately connected with the military and commercial prosperity of the country."

FOUR ALTERNATE ROUTES PROPOSED.

In that report four different routes were proposed, one from Porter's storehouse on the Niagara river to a point below Niagara Falls near the village of Lewiston, the second starting from the same point as proposed route number one and terminating at the mouth of the Four-Mile creek on Lake Ontario, the third commencing at Niagara river, follows up Cayuga creek and across Lewiston ridge at Pekin and descends to the mouth of the Twelve-Mile creek and the fourth leaves Niagara river at the mouth of Tonawanda creek, intercepts the Niagara canal at Pendleton and follows the canal to Lockport and descends the ridge at Lockport and pursues the flow of the Eighteen-Mile creek to its mouth.

The committee expressed no preference as to either of these routes and reported that it ought to be left to the President of the United States, or officers appointed by him,

to make a selection and designate a route. That report also states that "that the system of gunboat fighting upon our lakes, rivers and other waters has become so efficient and consequently was so popular of late in our (civil) war, that the attention of Congress and the government is turned towards developing and extending it to a much larger and more perfect system and to give it still more efficiency." ⁴

In 1863, the State Engineer estimated the cost of locks 225 feet long, 26 feet wide and 7 feet deep, to pass gunboats through the Erie canal, at \$11,902,888.

The memorial of Horace H. Day, presented on March 3, 1863, in favor of the Niagara ship canal, was referred to the committee on Naval Affairs and reported upon by that committee of the House of Representatives with the recommendation that the whole subject be indefinitely postponed. ⁵

In 1863, surveys were made by Daniel Marsh, assisted by George D. Stillson, for a ship canal around Niagara Falls. That canal was to have had locks 275 feet long, 45 feet wide, with chambers containing 12 feet of water. Those were identical in size with barge canal locks, except they were to be not quite so long. The cost of that canal, with single locks, was estimated at \$5,784,101 and with double locks at \$7,316,307. ⁶

The memorial of the Legislature of Wisconsin, dated April 27, 1864, addressed to the House of Representatives of the United States, favored a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara river and the importance of the Erie canal by

4 See the Engineer's Report in House of Representatives Report No. 53, page 8, of the 3d Session of the 37th Congress, dated March 3, 1863, wherein are presented the reasons for the construction of such canal between the lakes as a political, naval, military and commercial necessity.

5 See House Report No. 54 of the 3d Session of the 37th Congress, under date of March 3, 1863.

6 See House Ex. Doc. No. 61, 1st Session, 38th Congress.

the General Government, as a work of national character and of great military and commercial importance.⁷

On March 29, 1864, President Lincoln commissioned Charles B. Stuart to examine into the matter of the improvement of the New York canals for the passage of gunboats from tidewater to the Great Lakes. His lengthy report is House Executive Document No. 61 of the 1st Session of the 38th Congress. That engineer adopted the views of other engineers and concluded that an ample supply of water might be obtained by the construction of additional feeders and reservoirs at an expense of from \$600,000 to \$700,000. He estimated the entire cost of the improvement at \$20,571,169.75 to \$22,289,085.15, conditioned upon the material used and character of the improvement. He added little to the information on the subject, other than direct attention to the feasibility of an additional and ample water supply for the Erie canal route, whose sources have been availed of in providing the water supply for the barge canal.

THIS QUESTION NEVER ANSWERED.

Josiah D. Hayes, Esq., in 1865, propounded the significant question: "Why do we need another ship canal from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario?" The one existing canal between those lakes, then as now, was the Welland. That question has never been affirmatively and satisfactorily answered and from that day to this no such canal has been undertaken, even though several charters have been granted therefor.

The Niagara Ship Canal Company was such corporation with \$6,000,000 capital, formed under chapter 772 of the laws of 1866, authorizing the construction of a canal 105 feet wide on the surface, 90 feet wide on the bottom and

⁷ Senate Misc. Doc. No. 110, 1st Session, 38th Congress, dated April, 1864.

13 feet deep with locks 275 feet long and 46 feet wide with the same optional termini as had the company, which was incorporated in 1853.

This last company was spurred on by a bill in Congress which "authorized the President, by proper engineers and agents, to enter upon and take possession of the lands and waters within the territory and jurisdiction of the state, exercise the right of eminent domain without the consent, and peradventure, against the will of the Legislature of the state, and transfer to a non-existing corporation all the immunities, privileges and franchises he may have acquired under its provisions."

In strongly opposing the passage of the bill in Congress, the Legislature declared in substance that the construction of the ship canal in question would injure New York, because . . . the traffic of the Western States would pass down the St. Lawrence to the Atlantic ocean and that it was being advocated as a commercial enterprise rather than a military expedient. The bill did not pass the Senate and become a law.

Under that bill the Niagara Ship Canal Company was required to expend \$300,000 before it could receive the bonds of the United States, and it developed that such a canal would cost \$9,000,000 and that it would afford an outlet to the sea but through the port of Montreal, rather than through the port of New York. That project also failed.

Neither the Detroit nor the Morris (Illinois) Convention of 1865 urged the waterway as a military necessity but as a direct route via the St. Lawrence river to the ocean.

That has been and still is the principal reason, actuating representatives in Congress from the Central States in their support of measures designed to effectuate ship canal navigation between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

The State Canal Board, in 1866, reported that one of the results of a Niagara ship canal would be the passage down the St. Lawrence to the ocean of the produce of the West and to that extent its diversion from New York. In that harbor are the merchant fleets of the world, whence the agricultural products and commodities, under normal conditions, find ready export to foreign markets at all seasons of the year, whereas the St. Lawrence route is befogged much of the time and choked with floating fields of ice and icebergs nearly half the year, rendering its navigation and the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence extremely hazardous, as nautical reports show.

In 1867 Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Blunt, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, made surveys of three routes from Schlosser's, on the Niagara river, about three miles above the Falls, to the river near Lewiston; one from Schlosser's to Lake Ontario, at mouth of Four-Mile creek, one to Wilson on Lake Ontario, and one from Tonawanda to Olcott, at the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek. The estimates were based on a canal 90 feet wide at the bottom, 125 feet wide at the surface, and 14 feet deep, with locks 275 feet long and 36 feet wide, with lifts of 15 feet and 16 feet, and varied from \$11,032,000 for the Lewiston line to \$12,893,000 for the Olcott line.

A memorial and report on the Niagara ship canal, formulated and presented by the executive committee of the Detroit Commerce Convention, held December 13, 1871, is contained in the House of Representatives Misc. Document No. 22 of the 3d Session of the 42d Congress.

It is a lengthy document, containing a number of resolutions and memorials of several states, addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives, and a vast amount of material bearing on the subject of the proposed ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. In that report it was conceded that by the construction of the Niagara

Falls ship canal and the opening up of the proposed water route to the Atlantic ocean, the agricultural products of the west might pass down the St. Lawrence river and thence to Europe and thereby the trade and commerce of the city and state of New York would be very greatly damaged. That report also contains a partial summary of the efforts theretofore made to establish such water communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and concluded with the recommendation to Congress that a Niagara ship canal would establish cheaper rates of transportation between different sections of the country and more especially between the great food-producing states of the West and the Atlantic seaboard.

STATE'S COMMERCE WAS IMPERILED.

In that convention one of the arguments advanced in favor of the Niagara ship canal was that the St. Lawrence river was navigable for more days of the year than the existing Erie canal, thus inadvertently admitting that the St. Lawrence route was preferred to the Erie canal route and that the commerce yearly tributary to the port of New York would find shipment largely through the port of Montreal. That convention was dominated by delegates from states outside of New York, but its recommendations had little or no effect upon the Congress of the United States.

In 1872, the Legislatures of Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa and Ohio presented resolutions to Congress in favor of a Niagara ship canal. Michigan repeated its appeal in 1873 and 1874, and Wisconsin also the latter year.

In 1874, instead of acting affirmatively on those resolutions, Congress called for a report on the cost of the enlargement of the locks of the New York canals, to the dimensions stated in Col. Blunt's survey with prisms eight feet deep.

Major John M. Wilson of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army estimated the cost of such lock enlargement on the Erie canal with a prism 7 feet deep at \$6,676,231 and with a prism 8 feet deep at \$8,173,596. He also estimated at the same time the cost of a canal from the Hudson to Lake Ontario with locks 185 feet long, 29 feet wide and 9 feet deep at \$25,213,857.

In 1884, Elnathan Sweet, State Engineer and Surveyor, suggested a plan for a ship canal 100 feet wide at the bottom and 18 feet deep, across the state, following the route of the Erie canal, except swinging southward near Newark far enough to maintain an elevation sufficient to produce a continuous descending profile from Lake Erie to the Hudson river, without dropping as low as the Seneca river and then locking up to the Rome summit level and thereby prevent feeding the canal from Lake Erie farther east than the Seneca river.

Such an artificial channel would have been 270 miles long and there would have been 73 miles of Mohawk river canalized, 30 miles of narrow Hudson river channel and 123 miles of Hudson river of deep water. That would have required 25 locks of 22 feet lift to overcome the 555 of total lockage. The locks were to have been 450 feet long and 60 feet wide. He estimated the cost of the improvement of the Erie canal at from \$125,000,000 to \$150,000,000 and that of the Oswego canal at \$25,000,000.

The surface of the Seneca river at Montezuma is approximately 376 feet above tidewater, and the elevation of the lower miter-sill of the Rome level of the Erie canal is 422.028 feet above mean tidewater. The spillway of the Montezuma aqueduct on the Erie canal is 393.012 feet above tidewater, so that it was necessary for canal boats navigating the Erie canal to lock up from that aqueduct to the Rome summit level, a distance of 29.01 feet. The barge canal at the Three-River Point has a surface

elevation of 363 feet above tidewater, that being determined by the elevation of the crest of the new dam at Phoenix. The difference in elevation between the water surface of the barge canal at Three-River Point and at the Rome summit level (that being 420 feet above tidewater) is 57 feet, which is overcome by the three barge canal locks. The surface of the barge canal at Three-River Point is approximately 114 feet above the high-water elevation of Lake Ontario.

Profile maps, showing both a southerly and a northerly continuous descending canal from Lake Erie to the Rome summit level, were included in the State Engineer's Report for 1900.

REVISION OF SURVEYS AND ESTIMATES.

The River and Harbor Act of August 11, 1888, authorized a revision of the surveys and estimates of Col. C. E. Blunt for a waterway around Niagara Falls sufficient to float merchant ships and ships of war drawing 20 feet of water.

Accordingly Carl E. Palfrey was designated to make the resurveys and estimates. However, he examined only two of the routes surveyed by Col. Blunt, namely, route No. 4 and route No. 5. Route No. 4 was known as the Wilson or Twelve-Mile creek route, extended from Twelve-Mile creek southerly and southwesterly to the Pekin road and thence to the valley of Cayuga creek to Niagara river. The whole distance was 18.35 miles, and the canal was to have 18 lift locks and was estimated to cost \$24,201,550 with a prism 20 feet deep with single locks and to cost \$29,347,900 with a prism 20 feet deep with double locks.

Route No. 5, known as the Olcott or Eighteen-Mile creek route, extended from Olcott harbor on Lake Ontario 18 miles east of the Niagara River up the Eighteen-Mile creek to "the gulf," that being a remarkable gorge in the face of the cliff near Lockport and thence ascending the cliff by

four lifts in close proximity and then by a succession of other lifts more or less separated, to the summit level of the mountain range and thence southwesterly to the Niagara river one mile north of the Tonawanda creek, the whole distance being 25.28 miles, and was estimated to cost \$23,617,900. The locks were to be 400 feet long and 80 feet wide and the channel was to be 200 feet wide.⁸

On April 14, 1890, the House Committee on Railroads and Canals made its report⁹ to which committee it was referred, and House Bill, introduced by Sereno E. Payne of New York, directing the United States of America to make a ship canal around the Niagara Falls in the State of New York. In that report may be found some of the data already considered, but more especially excerpts from the survey of Captain William G. Williams in relation to the military and commercial advantages of the subject. It also contained a resume of some of the other projects already discussed, without presenting anything new and many things that tended to show that it was impracticable to construct such a proposed inland waterway. It contained some information in regard to the commerce of the Great Lakes' region. In conclusion, the committee alleged that "distress and ruin was staring in the face of the people of the West. Unless they get relief in some way and from some quarter, disaster and bankruptcy must virtually overtake vast numbers of the smaller farmers in all parts of the country." Subsequent events refuted that prediction, but the declaration illustrates the futility of the statements made by those advocating a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara.

That report also contains the report of Captain Palfrey hereinbefore epitomized.

⁸ See Vol. VI, House Ex. Docs., 1st Session, 51st Congress, 1889-90, p. 2434.

⁹ Report No. 1430, 1st Session, 51st Congress.

In 1890, William Pierson Judson of the American Society of Civil Engineers made a report¹⁰ containing a map, profiles and revised estimates of a canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. That was reported on again by the same engineer in 1896.

On April 8, 1892, the House Committee on Railways and Canals submitted its report¹¹ on a ship canal from the Great Lakes to the navigable waters of the Hudson river. In that report the committee say that "the point is to decide between improving the St. Lawrence canals or the Erie, either on its present lines or a modification of it. . . . Only a detailed and carefully planned survey can fully settle the question, but there are several alternatives open." That committee was disposed to favor a ship canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario. To its report were appended several statements of prominent citizens and engineers relative to some of the matters involved in the construction and operation of such a waterway.

PLAN OF THE OSWEGO ROUTE.

In the State Engineer's annual report for 1895, appeared a special report of Albert J. Himes, resident engineer, of the "Oswego Route." His plan contemplated a canal 182½ miles long, from Oswego to the Hudson river. It was to have a bottom width of 100 feet and a depth of 20 feet and locks 450 feet long and 60 feet wide with huge elevator lifts—one at Cohoes being 130 feet high and another at Oswego, about 65 feet high. Other lifts ranged from 10 to 27 feet. He estimated its cost at \$82,098,601.

On February 18, 1896, the House Committee on Railways and Canals submitted its report on a ship canal from the Great Lakes to the navigable waters of the Hudson

¹⁰ House Report No. 283, 1st Session, 52d Congress.

¹¹ House Report No. 1023, 1st Session, 52d Congress.

River, found in House Report No. 423 of the First Session of the 54th Congress. It dealt largely with the commercial aspects of the project and had appended lengthy statements of prominent citizens and engineers in relation to some of the problems involved in constructing such a waterway.

In 1896, William Pierson Judson, a civil engineer, surveyed a route for a ship canal from Oswego to the Hudson, a distance of 179 miles. He planned to ascend the Rome summit level, 172 feet above Lake Ontario, by several locks of 24 feet lift or to excavate for 11 miles through the Rome summit level, down 24 feet and to make both east and west thereof a lesser cut, reducing the summit level to 148 feet above Lake Ontario in case the supply of water for the Rome summit level were inadequate. He also proposed an enormous cut 50 miles long, with a maximum depth of 100 feet and an average depth of 60 feet, making Oneida lake the summit level, which was 394 feet above tidewater. That route through the Mohawk Valley encountered many obstacles and required the construction of many dams. Much dredging was required "in the Upper Hudson, estimated at \$20,000,000." He supplied a map and profile for his proposed ship canal. He had prepared a report prior thereto, in 1892, for the Oswego Board of Trade on an enlarged waterway between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic seaboard.

In December, 1896, Major Thomas W. Symons reported in House Document No. 231 of the Second Session of the 54th Congress on the radical enlargement of the Erie Canal and enlarging one tier of locks to dimensions large enough to admit the passage of torpedo boats and vessels of war, but Congress took no action.

On January 30, 1897, the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives a report from the chief of engineers on the matter of widening the locks of the Erie and Oswego canals, contained in House Document No. 231

of the Second Session of the 54th Congress. That plan contemplated locks 250 feet long, from twenty-five to thirty-seven feet wide, having lifts from nine to eleven feet. The estimated cost thereof ranged from \$3,840,000 to \$5,398,000.

On July 15, 1897, the Secretary of War transmitted to Congress a preliminary examination for a ship canal from the Great Lakes to the navigable waters of the Hudson River, made pursuant to Section 8 of the Rivers and Harbors Act of June 3, 1896, directing the Secretary of War "to cause to be made accurate examinations and estimates of cost of construction of a ship canal by the most practicable route, wholly within the United States, from the Great Lakes to the navigable waters of the Hudson river of sufficient capacity to transport the tonnage of the lakes to the sea."

The appropriation made for that purpose specified in the act last mentioned was insufficient to make such a complete survey as that proposed, and the chief of engineers interpreted the act to contemplate merely a preliminary survey.

Major Thomas W. Symons of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army was assigned to that work. His report fills a hundred pages of House Document No. 86 of the First Session of the 55th Congress. It includes a general survey, not technical, of what Major Symons denominates three possible routes for a ship canal entirely within the United States, from the Great Lakes to the navigable waters of the Hudson river; namely:

- (1) The Oswego route; (2) The Erie Canal route; and (3) The St. Lawrence-Champlain route.

Only the first and third of these contemplated a ship canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario. If that were to be constructed, Major Symons preferred the line of route from Niagara river near Tonawanda to the Eighteen-Mile creek, entering Lake Ontario, a distance of 25 miles, and having a fall of 320 (330) feet, accomplished by thirteen locks of an average lift of 24 feet.

BARGE CANAL ROUTE PREFERRED.

Major Symons did not advocate either the proposed Oswego-Oneida-Mohawk route or the Ontario-St. Lawrence-Champlain route. Of those two routes, he preferred the former, but did not consider that as advantageous as a barge canal along the route of the Erie Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. He disapproved of the St. Lawrence-Champlain-Hudson route, remarking that "Canada was making every possible effort to deflect American commerce to its ports." He also reported that "the building of a ship canal by the St. Lawrence route (and that will now apply to the Oswego route) would be still further and more completely opening the doors of the lake commerce to the subsidized fleets of Great Britain and Canada." He strongly urged the improvement of the Erie Canal to such dimensions as to admit of the passage of barges carrying 1,500 tons as the best solution of the best type of waterway between the Great Lakes and the Hudson.

The report of the United States Deep Waterways Commission is found in House Document No. 192 of the Second Session of the 54th Congress, transmitted to the President of the United States on January 8, 1897. The Commissioners were James B. Angell, John A. Russell and Lyman E. Cooley.

The Commission recommended that complete surveys and examinations be made and all needful data to mature projects be procured for: (a) Controlling the level of Lake Erie and projecting the Niagara ship canal; (b) Developing the Oswego-Oneida-Mohawk route; (c) Developing the St. Lawrence-Champlain route; (d) Improving the tidal Hudson River; (e) Improving intermediate channels.

The report is an exhaustive one, but is lacking in technical information. It is based largely on lay data and served as a preliminary report leading up to the report of the Engineers on Deep Waterways in 1900.

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Deep Waterways Commission last hereinbefore mentioned, the act of Congress, approved June 4, 1897, appropriated moneys, and Major Charles W. Raymond of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, Alfred Noble and George Y. Wisner, on July 28, 1897, were designated to make "surveys and examinations (including estimates of cost) of deep waterways and the routes thereof between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic tidewaters, as recommended by the report of the Deep Waterways Commission."

The act of July 1, 1898, made a further appropriation for continuing the work for a waterway of 21 and 30 feet deep respectively and the relative advantages thereof.

Mr. C. L. Harrison, C. E., was placed in charge of the surveys for 21 and 30 foot waterways between Lakes Erie and Ontario.

Two routes were surveyed for a 21-foot canal and for a 30-foot canal; namely, the La Salle-Lewiston route and the Tonawanda-Olcott route. The surveys included, for a 21-foot waterway, locks 600 feet long and 60 feet wide, and for a 30-foot waterway, locks 740 feet long and 80 feet wide. The La Salle-Lewiston route was to have one lock of 8 feet lift of six locks of 40 feet lifts and two locks of 39.4 feet lift and a channel 600 feet wide. It was estimated that the La Salle-Lewiston route canal, which was 21.7 miles long, of 21 feet in depth, would cost \$43,214,344, and of 30 feet in depth would cost \$75,084,453, and that the Tonawanda-Olcott route canal, which was 32.4 miles long, of 21 feet in depth, would cost \$49,274,894, and of 30 feet in depth would cost \$77,221,353.

None of these estimates included any allowance for anything except for proposed channels between Lakes Erie and Ontario. The differences in elevation is 330 feet. The draft on the waters of the upper Niagara River to operate nine locks with chambers from 600 to 740 feet in length,

from 60 to 80 feet in width and from 61 to 70 feet in depth, for the passage of vessels through a canal of that lockage might be felt as far as Niagara Falls and would necessitate the construction of a barrage across the outlet of Lake Erie to maintain its normal level. The engineers estimated the entire cost of the proposed 21-foot waterway through to the Hudson River at \$206,358,000, and of the proposed 30-foot waterway at \$317,284,500. That was on June 30, 1900. Since that date the cost of labor and material has so increased that the foregoing estimates are no longer reliable as indicating the cost of such a work. It may safely be assumed that a 21-foot waterway via the La Salle-Lewiston route would cost not less than \$55,000,000, and via the Tonawanda-Olcott route not less than \$60,000,000. That amount would be required to construct the Niagara ship canal, and when completed, would tend to divert commerce away from the port of New York to the St. Lawrence River route through the port of Montreal to foreign markets, as there is only one natural outlet to Lake Ontario and that is down the St. Lawrence River. Hereinafter it is pointed out that the physical obstacles to the construction and operation of a ship canal from Lake Ontario, via Oneida Lake and the Mohawk River to the tidewaters of the Hudson River, are such that no one is bold enough to predict that such a project will ever be undertaken and especially not since the completion of the Oswego barge canal.

BARGE CANALS THE BEST TYPE.

Prof. William H. Burr of Columbia University wrote Gen. Francis V. Greene, chairman of the Roosevelt Committee that proposed the barge canals, that they were the best type of waterways to transport the tonnage passing between the Great Lakes and the Hudson River, that "the cost of a ship canal, ranging as estimated from \$200,000,000

to \$500,000,000, is sufficiently formidable to exclude that solution from serious consideration."

The Roosevelt Commission of 1900, in its well-considered report, stated that "The State of New York must be prepared to face . . . a serious competition in the export trade over the St. Lawrence route" and that Commission said further:

It seems to us that there are certain insuperable difficulties in the way of such a canal (ship canal around Niagara Falls to Lake Ontario and from Oswego via Oneida Lake and the Mohawk to the Hudson) ever being a success, no matter by whom constructed. It is intended to be used by a vessel which can navigate the ocean, the canal and the lakes. We do not believe that such a vessel can be constructed so as to be economically and commercially successful. The ocean steamer is built to withstand the fierce storms of the Atlantic, and costs, in its most modern type, about \$71 per net ton of carrying capacity.

The vessel to navigate the lakes is built to withstand less frequent and dangerous storms; it has less draft on account of the smaller depth of the harbors on the lakes and it is built much less substantially; its cost is about \$36 per net ton of carrying capacity.

The cost of a canal fleet, consisting of a steamer and three consorts, with a total cargo capacity of 3,900 tons, according to figures furnished us by boat builders, would be \$28,500, or \$7.31 per ton of carrying capacity.

We have, then, the difference in first cost between \$71, \$36 and \$8 per ton of carrying capacity for the three types of vessels which, in the evolution of business, have been produced as the most economical for the particular class of work each has to do. We do not believe it is possible to combine these three types into one vessel, which will be as economical for the through trip, as to use the three existing types with two changes of cargo, one at Buffalo and one at New York, or to use the boat of 1,000-tons' capacity going through the lakes to New York and there transferring its cargo to the ocean steamer.

In 1900, Hon. Edward A. Bond, State Engineer, reported that he "caused estimates to be made for canals around Niagara Falls as a part of the barge canal project on the basis of 11 feet depth in the locks and 12 feet depth in the waterways." He also caused a survey of the Olcott-Lockport-

Buffalo route to be made in 1900, beginning at the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile Creek and proceeding to the head of "the gulf where it was to unite with the Erie Canal, the elevation of whose surface was 570 feet above tidewater. That elevation from Lake Ontario was to be reached through nine locks with lifts ranging from 28.7 to 40.4 feet each. The locks were to be of barge canal dimensions. Mr. Bond also caused a survey of the Lewiston-La Salle route for the barge canal. The total lift was said to be 319.6 feet, but that was taken from survey of the United States Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways and may not accord exactly with other measurements, as at times there was more or less fluctuation in the upper and lower Niagara River levels and the termini of different surveys did not always coincide. The Bond surveys, however, were for barge canal purposes and not for a ship canal around Niagara Falls.

In the *Forum* for March-August, 1900, Major Thomas W. Symons said: "That a ship canal via Ontario, the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain would certainly be a detriment to our inbound and outbound foreign commerce, tending strongly to divert it from the port of New York down the St. Lawrence River through the port of Montreal. It would only be necessary for Canada to build a short canal to connect up with the Niagara ship canal to Lake Ontario, and that the Canadians would certainly do. Since that date they have decided to enlarge the Welland and that will lead to the enlargement of the remaining short canals to the tidewaters of the St. Lawrence." ¹²

Major Symons strongly advocated the barge canal on account of its economic advantages as a highway and its adequacy to meet the demands of commerce at the least expenditure of money in construction and operation. Major Symons, on other occasions, has pointed out the menace to

¹² *The Forum*, Vol. XXIX, p. 203.

the commerce of the State in the proposed Niagara ship canal that would divert such commerce down the St. Lawrence to the sea.

UNOFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ON PROBLEM.

The foregoing historical summary does not include such unofficial reports as the paper of Joseph Mayer, published in the October (1900) proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers, entitled; "Canals Between the Lakes and New York," nor the paper presented at the same time by George Y. Wisner, one of the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways, and published in the same proceedings, entitled: "The Economic Dimensions for a Waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic," nor the papers of Edward P. North of New York, J. Y. McClinton of Rochester, John Patten and many others, who at various times have suggested a waterway between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, or between the Great Lakes and the Hudson River for commercial or power purposes. The latter purpose has much force on account of the possibilities of great power development in the 330 feet fall of water from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario and on account of that fall, such a waterway ending in Lake Ontario and with nine locks, most of which must have 40 feet lifts, as has already been shown, would not prove a commercial success in comparison with the barge canal, extending from Buffalo to the Hudson River with only one elevation to overcome and that of only 57 feet by three locks in the 42.35 miles between the Three-River Point and the Rome summit level. With that exception the barge canal is a continuously descending waterway from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, a distance approximately of 345 miles.

Some of the early memorials presented to the Congress of the United States in advocacy of a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara are startling in the dangers predicted as likely to occur to this country in case that waterway were

not constructed, and they may now be read with amusement.

One of these memorials, prior to 1836, contained the following: "Your memorialists respectfully represent that if again our country should be visited by the calamities of war, the inhabitants alone on the northern frontiers are likely to be brought into immediate contact with its evils. They would respectfully ask the attention of your honorable House to the extraordinary augmentation of power, population, wealth and resources of the British North American possessions during the past few years."

Since that time the State of New York alone has outpopulated all the Canadas, and the United States has become a world power and is allied with Great Britain in all that makes for our common civilization.

Many of the arguments advanced for such a ship canal are predicated upon inaccurate statements of facts as misleading as the dissolving "æry shapes," that

. . . Fancy, with her dream-dipped brush,

may project when the cold, calculating, reasoning powers are dormant.

Such arguments were refuted in their day by Jesse Hawley, Josiah D. Hayes, Hon. Israel T. Hatch, Hon. Harmon S. Cutting, Robert Hadfield, Hon. James M. Humphrey, Hon. Franklin A. Alberger, William Thurstone, Major Thomas W. Symons and others, whose devotion to the commercial development of the Empire State is attested by many imperishable achievements. But it appears that each succeeding generation must travel again the well-worn way, blazed a century and a half ago, and learn from experience what others have repeatedly declared, in substance, that a ship canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario is neither a political, naval, military nor a commercial necessity, and if it were constructed and used, it would tend to divert the

commerce of the United States away from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts and other Atlantic States down the St. Lawrence River to the sea. The St. Lawrence is nature's outlet of Lake Ontario and that river, rather than the Hudson, would become the great commercial highway between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean.

II. THE PROJECT AS A POLITICAL, NAVAL, OR MILITARY NECESSITY.

We will next consider briefly another aspect of the matter—The project as a political, naval or military necessity. Much has already been stated on this branch of the subject. It has been one of the favored arguments of those who had other interests to promote, or to serve, that the Niagara ship canal was a political, naval or military necessity.

They believed that such an argument would appeal to the political impulses of members of Congress far enough removed from the *locus in quo* as not to know the real conditions existing in and about the Great Lakes and the difficulty of constructing and operating a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and the uselessness of such a waterway for political, naval or military purposes. Those urging its construction on that ground may not recall the terms of the Rush-Bagot Treaty, concluded in 1817, and ratified in April, 1818, between the United States of America and Great Britain, whereby the contracting powers limited themselves on Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burthen and armed with one eighteen-pound cannon, and on the Upper Lakes to two vessels of like tonnage and armament. The treaty is not likely to be abrogated, and until it be abrogated or modified there is no need of a ship canal between those lakes as a political, naval or military necessity.

The proposed Niagara ship canal has not been generally favored by the people of this State, though at a State con-

vention held in Utica on September 11, 1834, such a canal was advocated, among other reasons, as a military defense, and in 1862, chapter 415 of the laws of that year was enacted "to adopt the canals of this State to the defense of the northern and northwestern lakes." The first section of that act provided as follows:

SECTION 1. Whenever the Government of the United States shall provide the means, either in cash or their six per cent. stock or bonds, redeemable within twenty years, for defraying the cost of enlarging a single tier of locks, or building an additional tier in whole or in part upon the Erie and the Oswego canals, including any necessary alteration of said canals, or their structures, to a size sufficient to pass vessels adequate to the defense of northern and northwestern lakes, the Canal Board shall, without delay, put such work under contract, in the manner now required by law, to be constructed and completed at the earliest practicable period, without serious interruption to navigation, with power, in the discretion of the Canal Board, to direct the construction of new and independent locks, when found more advantageous. The said Canal Board shall, whenever the Government of the United States shall provide the means as aforesaid, construct a canal of the requisite dimensions and capacity, from the Erie canal, at or near the Village of Clyde, to some proper point on the Great Sodus Bay, or Lake Ontario.

Section 6 of the act prohibited the State from contracting any debt for that purpose. Hon. S. B. Ruggles was sent to Washington to procure funds for the improvement, estimated by the State Engineer to cost \$4,451,000, and a bill was introduced in Congress in 1862 and again in 1863 and another in 1865, but Congress refused to make an appropriation for that purpose. It was said at the time that the only votes for such a waterway were given by some members of Congress "on the ground that this ship canal would give a continuous water communication with the Atlantic.

PROJECT PLEASING TO CANADIANS.

It was said by Hon. Franklin A. Alberger, in 1872, that such a "ship canal project was hailed with delight by the

Canadians," because "the artificial navigation necessary to reach Montreal from Lake Ontario was only forty miles. . . . The Bank of Montreal, to meet the emergencies of commerce, had established a branch in Chicago with agencies at other points and was making advances on property consigned to Great Britain. The Canadians are our active rivals." The Board of Trade of Chicago memorialized the Governor-General of Canada as follows:

The Interior of North America is drained by the St. Lawrence, which furnishes for the country bordering upon the lakes a natural highway to the sea. Through its deep channel must pass the agricultural productions of the vast lake region. The commercial spirit of the age forbids that international jealousy should interfere with great national thoroughfares, and the governments of Great Britain and the United States will appreciate this spirit and cheerfully yield to its influences.

The great avenue of the Atlantic, through the St. Lawrence, being once opened to its largest capacity, the laws of trade, which it has never been the policy of the Federal Government to obstruct, will convey the commerce of the Northwest through it.

The foregoing resolutions reflect the sentiments of the people of the central states on this project and show conclusively that they have always favored it as a commercial highway rather than as a political, naval or military necessity.

In 1865, the Legislature of the State adopted, among others, the following resolutions in relation to the bill then pending in Congress, authorizing the construction of a ship canal around Niagara Falls, namely:

AND WHEREAS, There is a bill now pending in the Congress of the United States, authorizing the construction of a ship canal, under the auspices of the Government of the United States, around the Niagara Falls, within the territorial jurisdiction of this State and committing the construction of the said work to any corporation created by any State in the Union, no matter whether the assent of this State may or may not be given thereto, and authorizing such corporation to levy and collect tolls upon vessels and tonnage passing

through the said canal, except on vessels and tonnage of the United States, and pledging the funds of credit of the United States to the sum of six millions of dollars toward the expense of constructing said work;

AND WHEREAS, The power of Congress to exercise any jurisdiction of this character over the territory of a loyal State should depend upon a present imminent impending "military necessity," and not one that is or may be wholly and entirely contingent and remote — a military necessity that may or may not arise or exist between the United States and a coterminous foreign territory, should not be urged or relied upon to uphold a measure of this description.

AND WHEREAS, In the judgment and opinion of this Legislature, the said measure is promoted and advocated more as a commercial enterprise than a military expedient; therefore,

Resolved (if the Senate concur), That this Legislature do most earnestly but respectfully remonstrate against the passage of the aforesaid bill by Congress, or any other bill of a like character whereby any commercial rivalry shall be created upon the territory of this State and within its jurisdiction, antagonistic to the present commercial status of the State, and highly injurious to our canal finances and the material interests of the people of the whole State.

In his report for the year 1865, the auditor of the Canal Department, in commenting upon the subject, said, "The military necessity no longer exists."

APPEALS TO CONGRESS UNAVALING.

The appeals to the Congress of the United States, commencing as early as 1811 and repeated several times thereafter, for Federal aid to establish water communication between Lake Erie and the Hudson river were unavailing, even though the United States fully understood all the grounds therefor, including those of the alleged political, naval or military necessity for such a waterway. Later appeals for like aid to establish such communication, after the State, at its own expense, had established it, were also unavailing and no Federal aid was ever given.

The Congress of the United States did not consider such a waterway a political, naval nor a military necessity and

up to the present time has withheld its support, while the State has been allowed, without any assistance from the Federal Government, to go forward with its waterway construction and operation at an authorized expenditure to the taxpayers for the barge canals and terminals alone of \$154,800,000.

The Deep Waterways Commission, in its report transmitted to Congress on January 18, 1897, did not conclude among its recommendations for a ship canal from the Great Lakes to the Hudson that such a canal was a political, naval or military necessity between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Evidently that purpose did not occur to or make any impression upon that distinguished commission, charged with the responsibility of reporting on a ship canal between the Great Lakes and the Hudson, notwithstanding the numerous congressional memorials, petitions and reports calling attention to the matter prior to 1896. The silence of the Deep Waterways Commission on that important subject is significant and clearly indicates that the Commissioners did not predicate their report on the various arguments theretofore presented for a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario as a political, naval or military necessity. In fact the Federal government has never considered a Niagara ship canal as a political, naval or a military necessity. Therefore it has made no appropriation for the construction of such a waterway, though several surveys have heretofore been made.

The provision in the Sundry Civil Act of Congress of June 4, 1897, was "for surveys and examinations (including estimates of costs) of deep waterways and routes thereof between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic tidewater, as recommended by the report of the Deep Waterways Commission." In their comprehensive survey, the army engineers, in substance, reported that in time of war, the large ships of war would be required on the high seas and

such vessels would be unnecessary on the Great Lakes and that both a 21-foot and a 30-foot channel would be ample for naval defense, the Canadian harbors and channels at that time admitting vessels of only 14 feet draft. The survey, however, for a ship canal from Lake Erie to tide-water was advocated primarily for commercial and not for political, naval and military purposes.

The conditions of modern warfare, with submarines destroying merchant and other ships, and aircraft sweeping battlefields and the sea, are such that ship canals are of little value and, in fact, they may be a menace to interior regions, exposed as would be those states bordering on the Great Lakes to the ravages of vessels of war sailing up the St. Lawrence river into Lake Ontario and thence through a ship canal into the upper lakes.

It is not at all likely that the Government of the United States would appropriate enough money to construct a ship canal as large as the improved Welland canal is to be. That is 25 miles long, from 200 feet to 210 feet wide on the bottom, 25 feet deep in the prism and 30 feet deep in its seven locks, 800 feet long, 80 feet wide, each having a lift of $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the entire waterway improvement costing many millions of dollars.

NO MILITARY OR NAVAL VALUE.

Any ship canal in the territory of the United States between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario of smaller dimensions than those of the Welland canal would not suffice for the passage of war vessels or other large lake vessels. Furthermore, little would be gained by making those lakes intercommunicate through a waterway having a total lockage of 330 feet in a distance not exceeding 60 miles, with the entrance to the lower lake, from the ocean, under the control of the British government, as are the St. Lawrence river and Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is not apparent in what

manner such a ship canal around the Niagara Falls would or could be of naval or military service to the nation in time of war, which is as improbable now as it has been for the past century.

Engineers of the army of the United States have not advised the construction of the Niagara ship canal as a political, naval or military necessity, nor have they reported that such a waterway could be successfully operated. They realize the difficulty of navigating large lake vessels, now even larger than those in use when the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways made their surveys in 1898-1900, through a narrow, restricted channel up and down a flight of six or more locks, that must be at least 650 feet in length and from 65 to 80 feet in width and having 40 lifts to overcome the so-called mountain elevation of approximately 300 feet at Lewiston or at Lockport, in addition to the other locks required to overcome the 330 feet differences in elevation between the two lakes. Who can foretell the possible mishaps to war vessels navigating a waterway of such unusual lockage?

There is no such canal in operation anywhere in the world and it is not likely that the Government of the United States is disposed to experiment in a matter involving such an expenditure of money as the construction of the proposed ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario would necessitate. In addition to the cost of construction will be involved many expenses incidental to operation and the paramount problem of obtaining an ample water supply.

The Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways concluded that in order to maintain the level of Lake Erie at a regulated stage of 574.5 feet above tidewater and thereby secure a maximum discharge of 277,270 cubic feet per second, in part required to supply the proposed Niagara ship canal, it would be necessary to construct regulating works, consisting of a barrage with openings, or a submerged wear

2,900 feet long with 13 sluices, each having an opening of 80 feet in the clear, across the outlet of Lake Erie, or to construct regulating works across the Niagara river between Tonawanda, in case a ship canal were to be constructed between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, for such a canal could not be operated without the lake levels being so maintained. The expense involved in such a structure and possible damage to property are more or less problematical, but they must be considered in estimating the cost of such waterway. The diversion of water from Lake Erie is regulated by treaty with Great Britain.

The Suez, the Cronstadt, the Corinth and the Kaiser Wilhelm are all sea-level ship canals without locks, but may have tidal gates. Ships sail through them without lockage.

The Manchester ship canal is $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles long with summit level 60 feet above tidewater, which is approached by four sets of locks each of 15 feet lift.

PANAMA A SMALLER UNDERTAKING.

The Panama canal is approximately 40 miles long from Limon bay in the Atlantic to La Boca bay in the Pacific and its regulated summit level is between 82 feet and 87 feet above sea level and is approached by a flight of three double locks on the east and three separate double locks from the west. The entire lift from either ocean to the summit level does not exceed one-third of the lift from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie and only one-half the lift from Lake Ontario to the Rome summit.

The new Welland is incomplete and it is too early to predict what its operation for large lake vessels may demonstrate, if the improvement be completed as planned.

The proposed Georgian bay ship canal is to be 440 miles in length, of which 108 miles will require excavation, leaving 332 miles of natural river or lake channels. Its summit

level is 99 feet above Georgian bay and 659 feet above tide-water at Montreal. To overcome that summit level 27 locks will be required, ranging in lift from 5 to 50 feet, with chambers from 650 to 800 feet in length and from 65 to 75 feet in width, with 22 feet of water over miter sills. Most of the proposed locks have lifts not exceeding 30 feet and not more than four of them are in close proximity. Only one has a lift of 50 feet. But the suggested lockage on the proposed Georgian bay ship canal is so distributed with long intervening reaches between locks, that it presents far fewer difficulties to navigation than either the proposed Niagara ship canal or the improved Welland, whose successful operation and navigation by large lake vessels, if completed, is regarded as more or less problematical. Though, as a matter of engineering, it be possible to construct such a waterway, there still remains the problem of obtaining an ample supply of water for its operation and the uncertainty of its success as a commercial highway. It is not needed as a naval or military waterway, so that argument ought not longer be seriously made in advocacy of its construction.

United States war vessels could not descend the Canadian canals and the St. Lawrence river, but they would be confined or bottled up in Lakes Ontario and Erie and other Great Lakes, unless a ship canal were built via the St. Lawrence-Champlain-Hudson route, or via the Oneida-Mohawk-Hudson route to the deep waters of the Hudson river, involving the locking up from Lake Ontario 133.6 feet to the so-called low-summit level 40.833 miles long, extending from Fulton, lengthwise across Oneida lake and up Wood creek valley $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Sylvan beach. The surface of such low-summit level in that route was 379 feet or approximately above tidewater. Oneida lake was designed to constitute its principal storage reservoir, although other storage reservoirs were to be constructed in the valleys of Salmon and Black rivers. That route, as surveyed by the

Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways, involved a long cut easterly from Oneida lake through Utica shale, rock, hardpan and a sand ridge, which cut at one place was 84 feet deep and would be subject to land slides, unless thoroughly drained. That route was estimated to cost \$1,-678,000 more than the cost of the high-summit level project between Oneida lake and the Mohawk river. The elevation of the latter was 416 feet above tidewater and required the locking up from Lake Ontario 170.6 feet. The Board of Engineers said: "In both of which projects the water to generate power for operating the locks and for locking ships across the divide must be secured by storage in reservoirs located on the watershed or on adjacent watersheds.

"The lockage required to cross the divide with the low-level project will be 267 feet and for the high-level project 341 feet, making the route expensive to construct and slow to navigate. . . . Probably the most serious difficulty to adjust on either route, if the waterway should be constructed, will be to make satisfactory arrangements for railroad crossings. This is especially the case in the Mohawk valley, where the river is paralleled by the four tracks of the New York Central and the two tracks of the West Shore railroads." Ships must also be locked down from the summit level to the Hudson.

SLOW AND DIFFICULT NAVIGATION.

The distance from Oswego to the Hudson river via the Oswego-Mohawk route, low-level survey made by the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways, is 172.87 miles, whose navigation by war or other large lake vessels would unavoidably be attended with expensive delays and difficulties so perplexing that no master or owner of any such vessel has ever advocated its construction. In 1896, Major Symons

reported that a ship canal between the Great Lakes and the ocean would have no military value.

The distance via the high-summit level Oswego-Mohawk route is fully as long and navigation thereon would be attended with still greater obstacles, rendering it commercially unprofitable to operate large vessels 600 or more feet in length through such a restricted channel as that proposed by the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways. Navigators of experience in handling large vessels in various channels, both artificial or natural, appreciate the difficulties of operating successfully such a waterway as that proposed, and Congress is importuned constantly to make appropriations for river and harbor improvement to obviate the very difficulties incident to navigating restricted channels, such as the proposed ship canal must necessarily be. The annual appropriation for river and harbor improvement ranged from 30 to 50 millions of dollars, which shows the extraordinary demands made upon the Federal Government in the main to keep open and improve existing channels.

As already stated, the operation of such a ship canal through the state, with its large locks, would draw such enormous quantities of water from the several watersheds of Central New York, as to deplete the normal flow of its streams and involve the United States Government in claims for damages for injuries to water rights along the Salmon, the Oswego, the Oneida, the Black, the Mohawk, the Hudson and other rivers running up into untold millions of dollars. The extent of such claims may be judged from the awards made and upheld by the Court of Appeals for the injury to water rights in the case of the Fulton Light, Heat and Power Company vs. The State of New York, 200 N. Y., 400. This phase of the matter ought not to be overlooked. Enormous compensating reservoirs would be required in the Adirondacks to keep up the flow of the Black, Mohawk, Hudson and other rivers.

EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS ON WATER RESOURCES.

It became necessary to construct the Delta reservoir with a capacity of two and three-quarters billions cubic feet and the Hinkley reservoir with a capacity of three and one-half billions cubic feet to supply water for the Rome summit level on the barge canal. The Delta reservoir is supplied by the water resources of a drainage area of 137 square miles, and the Hinkley reservoir by water resources of a drainage area of 372 square miles.

The demands on the water resources of the State to supply a ship canal would be extraordinary and might exceed the resources of the watersheds. This is more evident now than it was in 1898, when the estimates were originally made for a ship canal, in view of barge canal operation requiring much more water than was contemplated.

MENACE TO STATE'S WATER SUPPLY.

A still more serious matter confronts the people of New York and that is the future supply for its large cities. It has been stated by those who are more or less expert and familiar with the conditions, that in twenty-five years New York City must seek other resources of water supply outside of the Croton, Catskill and Long Island watersheds, as the demands of pure and wholesome water may then exceed the supply. It will then be necessary to impound the waters of the upper Hudson and its tributaries and those of other streams, having their unfailing sources in the Adirondacks to provide an ample supply for the needs of the millions inhabiting Greater New York. The acquisition of the Catskill watershed by the City of New York for additional water supply to that municipality is one of the large problems of the present age.

The water supply of cities is taxing the watersheds more and more, and this shows the importance to which the water resources of the state are being devoted as the popu-

lation increases and the demands for wholesome water multiply. This is a problem of paramount importance to the health and existence of the millions resident in the state and a ship canal will not be suffered to exhaust the water resources that may be imperatively required for such domestic consumption and for municipal and other purposes.

Under all the circumstances hereinbefore stated and others considered, it does not appear to your committee that the arguments advanced for the construction of a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, justify its construction and operation as a political, naval or military necessity.

The New York State barge canals may readily be adapted to all necessary naval and military purposes as already proposed.

III. PROJECT AS A COMMERCIAL WATERWAY.

To gain 138 or 112 or 98.6 miles of open navigation on Lake Ontario, the distance depending on the place of entry into that lake, it is proposed to construct and operate a ship canal with 319.5 feet of lockage from La Salle to Lewiston, a distance of 8.34 miles, in addition to navigating the canalized river from Black Rock to La Salle, a distance of 13.52 miles, or via another route to construct and operate a ship canal with 324.6 feet of lockage from Lockport to Olcott, a distance of 14.48 miles, in addition to navigating the canalized Niagara River and Tonawanda Creek from Black Rock to Lockport, a distance of 24 miles, or via still another route, to construct and operate a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario with 326 to 330 feet of lockage between Lake Erie and the Niagara River as lengthy and expensive to construct as either the La Salle-Lewiston or the Tonawanda-Lockport-Olcott proposed ship canal. All estimates heretofore made are inadequate, both on account of the large canal now required to accommodate the Great Lakes' vessels, upwards of 600 feet in length and 60 feet in width,

drawing 20 feet of water and also on account of the increase in the cost of labor and materials. Accordingly former estimates are to be superseded by the new estimates directed by Congress on July 27, 1916, to be made.

The Niagara ship canal from Lake Erie or from the upper Niagara River to the lower Niagara River or Lake Ontario will range in length, according to various surveys hitherto made, from 18.21 to 64.79 miles, depending on the place of departure from the Lake Erie or the upper Niagara, the route followed and the place of entry into the lower waters, which are the lower Niagara or Lake Ontario.

The shortest of these routes is one-half as long as the Manchester ship canal and approximately half as long as the Panama Canal and its lockage would be more than five times as great as that of the Manchester ship canal and more than three times as great as that of the Panama Canal. The longest of the routes hitherto surveyed is one and one-half times the length of the Panama Canal and two-thirds as long as the sea-level Suez Canal. It may, therefore, be realized that the proposed ship canal between these lakes is a matter of great magnitude and must be approached with due consideration of the engineering, hydraulic and financial problems involved in the project.

Little or nothing is to be gained by the use of such a waterway. The distance from the Niagara River to Oswego is 138 miles, from Olcott is 112 miles and from Ontario Junction, as surveyed by the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways, is 98.6 miles. Those places, whence the measurement commences, are the several proposed lower termini of the ship canal, any one of which might become its actual terminus.

EXTRAVAGANT COST OF NAVIGATION.

The cost to the owner of a large lake vessel in navigating it through such a ship canal, down a flight of six or seven locks of 40 feet drop each and thence into Lake Ontario, would necessitate such an increase in freight rates as to more than offset the saving in freight rates on the short water haul through Lake Ontario of 138 or 112 or possibly only 98.6 miles. The delays unavoidably incident to the passage of a large, expensively built and costly operated vessels down and up through the proposed ship canal would entail so much expense on the owners of the vessels over and above what he would receive for freights on cargoes from Buffalo to Oswego via the Ontario route, that it is very problematical as to whether he would use the ship canal if it were constructed.

Major Symons, in his exhaustive report on the subject of the comparative advantages of various waterways, transmitted to Congress on July 15, 1897 (House Document No. 86 of the 1st Session of the 55th Congress), in substance, said that such a ship canal would not be generally used by Great Lakes' vessels, if it were constructed, but it might be used by barges of 1,500 tons capacity.

Ship owners and operators, like railway managers, must make expenses and something more for the upkeep of the vessels and realize some return on the large investment involved in their construction. They must estimate what they may reasonably expect to realize in a season of seven months of navigation. They must and do figure very closely to lose no time in port or in transit, for delays with large crews to feed and pay and other expenses to meet are very expensive, and ship masters, therefore, force their vessels through thick and stormy weather at their maximum speed of twelve to fifteen miles per hour to avoid any loss of time and consequent loss in earnings. That cannot be done in navigating ship canals, and navigators avoid them as much

as possible, and many prefer to half circumnavigate Africa rather than be delayed by the frequent congestions in the Suez Canal and to pay the enormous tolls exacted for such transit and necessary for its upkeep.

The Roosevelt Canal Committee reported that, "In a restricted waterway (referring to the proposed ship canal through New York) . . . we do not believe that ocean steamers or lake vessels could attain an average speed exceeding five miles per hour, . . . and that in order to be profitable the now (1900) existing rates on the ocean and lakes of about one-half of a mill per ton mile would have to be very largely increased." The rates must increase as the time consumed in transportation increases, for the operating expenses and interest in the investment in ships and in their equipment go on without interruption, regardless of the loss of time of vessels in passing through artificial waterways, or delays in ports.

The low Great Lakes' freight rates prevail only in the unobstructed open lakes, wherein large lake vessels may be crowded forward at the rate of twelve to fifteen miles per hour. Much higher freight rates than Great Lakes' freight rates are inevitable for the transportation of cargoes on vessels passing through artificial channels, such as the proposed Niagara ship canal or a ship canal passing from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean.

This is true also of vessels navigating sea-level canals and much more so of vessels navigating such artificial waterways as the proposed ship canal interrupted by numerous slowly operating locks of extraordinary lifts necessary to overcome the differences in elevation between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario of 330 feet and between Lake Ontario and the Rome summit level of 133 to 170 feet and between that summit level and the Hudson River of 379 to 416 feet, depending on whether the low level or high level route between Oneida Lake and the Mohawk River be selected for such a ship canal.

NOT JUSTIFIED BY NECESSITY.

Experience the world over does not warrant the construction and operation of ship canals merely as commercial highways. Their construction is usually justified on the ground of physical necessity, as in the case of the Corinthian, the Kaiser Wilhelm and the Panama canals, across narrow isthmuses of land separating large navigable waters, not otherwise readily susceptible of intercommunication. In such cases ship canals are justified, but for long distances, such restricted channels cannot be economically navigated by large vessels and any experienced navigator will so declare.

Major Thomas W. Symons, in his report submitted to the Congress of the United States by the Secretary of War on July 15, 1897, contained in House Document No. 86 of the 1st Session of the 55th Congress, said that, "If the Erie Canal be further improved (as is now being done) by enlarging it to a size sufficient for 1,500-ton barges, making necessary alterations in its alignment so as to give it a continuously descending grade all the way from Lake Erie to the Hudson, canalizing the Mohawk River, such improved canal, navigated by barges, will enable freight to be transported between the East and West at a lower rate than could a ship canal navigated by the large lake or ocean vessels. The cost of such enlargement would be approximately one-quarter the cost of a ship canal." The new barge canal is a continuously descending canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River with the exception of the 57 feet lift from the Three-River Point to the Rome summit level, accomplished by three locks. It fulfills all the other requisites stated by Major Symons and has some features not outlined in that report.

The ship canal project from Lake Erie to the Atlantic, including a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, was also considered in 1899 by the Roosevelt Canal Committee,

of which Gen. Francis V. Greene was chairman and of which Hon. Frank S. Witherbee, Major Thomas W. Symons, United States Engineer, Hon. John N. Scatcherd, Hon. George E. Green, Hon. Edward A. Bond, State Engineer and Surveyor, and Hon. John N. Partridge, State Superintendent of Public Works, were members. That committee, among other things, reported on the ship canal project in part as follows:

"It seems to us that there are certain insuperable difficulties in the way of such a canal ever being a success, no matter by whom constructed. It is intended to be used by a vessel which can navigate the ocean, the canal and the lakes. We do not believe that such a vessel can be constructed so as to be economically and commercially successful."

The Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Union at Rochester, in January, 1872, unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolutions in opposition to the project of the Niagara canal; namely:

WHEREAS, We have learned, with no little anxiety, that the project of the building of the Niagara ship canal has again been revived by western and eastern men, living out of this State, and who are joined by Oswego men; and

WHEREAS, There being no demand for further facilities for the transit of western produce and eastern goods to and from the East and West and the Old and New World — the canals of New York having kept pace with the demands made upon them and will for the next decade, if not two — if New York does her duty and puts them in complete navigable order and properly discipline the force to manage the same, and while this grand trunk channel affords facilities for all that offers and is prepared to accommodate at all times millions of tons more than now seeks transit through New York; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense and opinion of this Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Union of the State of New York, that it is most emphatically inexpedient at this time of the nation's financial condition to appeal to the exhausted treasury for aid to construct a

work which would be the ruination of our canals and the commerce thereof, benefiting only the commercial interests of foreign nations, resulting as a sure and natural consequence in the diversion of traffic from American channels and home markets; ruining and blighting the material interests of our State; therefore it is hereby

Resolved, That the Grand Erie canal, since its construction, has been the cheapest medium of transit and most direct route for commerce between the Eastern and Western states, vastly encouraging the settlement of the uncultivated territories. The canal has become a powerful balance wheel in checking and regulating the price between the producer and consumer. The Erie canal is susceptible, with a moderate outlay, of redoubling its carrying capacity;

Resolved further, That in the event at any future time the Erie and Oswego canals should fail to meet the demands made upon them and the building of said ship canal became a necessity, that we deem it expedient for the State of New York itself to construct and retain the control of the same;

Resolved, That this Chamber and Union enters its solemn protest against the construction of this ship canal at this time or the granting of the right of way to the general government, and that we call upon each and every member of the Legislature to set their faces strongly against it and to defeat it and the foreigners from intermeddling with our internal affairs and the carrying trade of the State of New York.

\$154,800,000 INVESTED IN BARGE CANALS AND TERMINALS

The New York Produce Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York at that time also formally opposed the construction of the Niagara ship canal. The conditions that now exist make the construction of such a canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario still more objectionable, for the State of New York is already obligated to expend \$154,800,000 for the barge canals, having a minimum bottom width of 75 feet and a minimum depth of 12 feet and a minimum water cross-section of 1,128 square feet, except at aqueducts and through cities and villages where these dimensions as to width may be reduced and cross-

section of water modified to such an extent as may be deemed necessary by the State Engineer and approved by the Canal Board. In the rivers and lakes the canal may have a minimum bottom of 200 feet and shall have a minimum depth of 12 feet; the cross-section of water may be 2,400 square feet. The locks for the passage of boats on the Erie, Oswego and Champlain canals shall be single locks, except at flights of locks which shall be double locks. The locks shall have the following governing dimensions: Minimum length between hollow quoins, 328 feet; minimum width, 45 feet; minimum depth in lock chambers and on mitre sills, 12 feet, and with such lifts as the State Engineer may determine.

The dimensions of the prisms and locks of the new barge canals are greater than those of any of the earlier proposed ship canals between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. They were decided upon after the most exhaustive investigations, commencing at an early date and including in addition to those already given the recommendations of Hon. Martin Schenck, State Engineer and Surveyor, in his annual report for 1892; namely, "The practical canal of the future, connecting Lake Erie and the Hudson River . . . ought to be one capable of bearing barges 250 feet in length by 25 feet in breadth of beam, of a draft not to exceed 10 feet and of such a height that the great majority of bridges that should span this canal might be fixed structures instead of drawbridges," and also including those of Major Thomas W. Symons, United States Engineer, in his report already cited, comprising a lengthy review of the economics of transportation by water on all kinds of waterways by various types of vessels in this and other countries from their practical operation, thereby reducing the feasibility of such waterways as the barge canals to a certainty and also including those of the General Greene Canal Committee of 1899, embodied in its report, comprising the expert and the

lay opinions of scores of shippers, vessel owners and authorities on transportation matters and the recommendations of waterway engineers, chambers of commerce and others, whose knowledge of the conditions and objects to be attained qualified them to speak on the subject.

CHEAP TRANSPORTATION ASSURED.

The cogency of the conclusions of that committee and the overwhelming popular vote in this State in 1903 on the \$101,000,000 first bond issue for the construction of the Erie-Champlain-Oswego barge canals to admit of navigation of vessels conveying from 1,500 to 3,000 tons of freight, as well as the later popular majorities on the \$7,000,000 bond issue for the Cayuga and Seneca barge canal, on the \$19,800,000 bond issue for barge canal terminals and on the \$27,000,000 last bond issue to complete the barge canals, ought to convince all, including ship canal theorists, that the State of New York, first in commerce of all the States of the Union, has for itself finally settled the problem of transportation by water through the State in the construction of its barge canal system, that insures as cheap transportation for domestic and through freight as can possibly be provided over any artificial waterway in the world, not excepting any ship canal, which type of canal State Engineer Martin Schenck declared in 1892 was not feasible between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes.

The late Gustav H. Schwab, American manager of the Oelrichs & Company steamships, engaged in trans-Atlantic commerce, and one of the best informed men on transportation on inland waterways, as well as the high seas, reported to the Greene Committee on Canals in 1899 as follows:

By offering to barges of the capacity of 1,200 or 1,500 tons a quick means of transit through a commodious canal of the size contemplated, a very material reduction can be gained in the transportation of bulk

articles from the interior to the seaboard, which I believe you have correctly estimated at 1.8 mills per ton per mile.

The only other alternative to be considered appears to be the fourth proposition in your letter; namely, the construction of a ship canal suitable for lake and ocean vessels of 5,000 to 10,000 tons capacity. Such a canal I believe to be removed from consideration, not only by the high cost, but also hold that the benefits that would flow from such a ship canal will not be commensurate with the enormous outlay and with the work. The style of vessel in use on the Lakes is entirely different from that adopted for ocean transportation; neither style of vessel can be substituted or used for the other, nor can a vessel employed in the navigation of the North Atlantic successfully compete with the lake craft and *vice versa*, owing to the great difference in the mode of construction.

Mr. Schwab spoke from long experience in such water carriage, and on several occasions thereafter he publicly advocated the barge canals in preference to all others, stating in substance that they were the better adapted for service in transportation between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. His practical knowledge did not permit him to be blinded to the obstacles which nature had interposed to the impeded navigation of ship canals with their necessarily restricted channels and flights of locks, in the case of the Niagara ship canal, half as high as the tower of the Metropolitan Building in New York City and fully as high as the tower of the Electric Building in Buffalo.

The only parallel to such a canal is the Welland canal, now free of tolls on vessels owned by people in the United States and therefore rendering the construction of another canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario entirely unnecessary. The expense and delays, however, to vessels passing through the Welland Canal have been such that only a limited number of vessels use that waterway, notwithstanding the fact that it leads into Lake Ontario and thence down the St. Lawrence River and through a few short canals to the ocean. That natural water route, with all the alleged advantages of a ship canal, has never been

as generally used, nor transported as much tonnage, as the old Erie Canal.

But little weight should be given to the argument advanced in the report of the Commission on Deep Waterways; namely: "If an ocean steamer could clear from an upper lake port to Europe, it would save the time and expense required to break bulk at two intermediate points and the cost of carriage would be about one-half of what it is now. Such a vessel could carry her cargo from the east end of Lake Erie to the ocean for not exceeding one cent a bushel for the additional water distance."

WOULD NOT LOWER FREIGHT RATES.

In answer to that, stand such expert detailed statements as the following of Major Thomas W. Symons, who has conclusively shown in his exhaustive report,¹³ comprising many tables of itemized expenses of vessels of various types that would navigate a ship canal from Buffalo to New York via the Oswego route, that the least cost of transportation of wheat would be 2.28 cents per bushel, or 76 cents per ton in large lake freighters of 20 feet draft of 7,000 tons capacity, making ten trips a season with full cargoes down and one-third cargoes of miscellaneous freights on return trips. Major Symons made an exhaustive investigation of all the facts entering into the resultant cost of such transportation and conclusively answers all such ill-advised opinions of laymen, unfamiliar with transportation problems.

Major Symons shows in that same report that the cost of transportation of wheat, including transferences at Buffalo from Buffalo to New York City via the barge canal route on barges of 1,500 tons capacity, in fleets of four boats, will be reduced to 2.07 cents per bushel, or 69 cents

¹³ House Doc. No. 86, 1st Session, 55th Congress, p. 81.

per ton, which is 7 cents per ton lower than the lowest ship canal rate via the Oswego route.

The Greene Canal Committee adopted Major Symons's estimates of the cost of transportation of wheat on 1,000-ton barges over the Erie Canal, enlarged to barge canal dimensions, from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, which were eight-tenths of a cent per bushel, or 26 cents per ton, equivalent to fifty-two one-hundredths of a mill per ton per mile. That estimated cost of transporting grains or other tonnage over the new barge canals, now nearly completed, as well as other estimates of Major Symons, are based on a most careful study of the actual cost of transportation and on data procured from boat builders, canal boatmen and from every available source, bearing upon the actual cost of running boats of different sizes. This last estimated cost, however, apparently did not include terminal charges at Buffalo of one-half cent per bushel for elevating and five days' storage and charges in New York. In 1897, Major Symons reported¹⁴ that the cost of transportation from Buffalo to New York, including trimming charges at Buffalo and shoveling charges at New York, on 1,500-ton barges, was estimated at 1.13 cents per bushel, or 38 cents per ton. He said: "Comparing the ship canal with the Erie Canal radically improved to accommodate 1,500-ton barges, we see an advantage of the barge canal with the business conducted in fleets as at present over the 5,000-ton ship of 25 cents per ton, or \$6,000,000 per annum and over the 7,000-ton ship of 7 cents per ton, or \$1,680,000 per annum, a mean advantage of \$3,840,000 with the Buffalo transfer charges remaining as at present.

"It may therefore be stated that the large barge canal would offer marked advantages to the shipper, even provided the Buffalo transfer charges remain as at present. As the barge canal would not cost more than one-fourth as

¹⁴ House Doc. No. 86, 1st Session 55th Congress, pp. 88-90.

much as the ship canal, its advantages as a business proposition are apparent."

The Congress of the United States was evidently impressed with the force of that report more than that of the Commission on Deep Waterways and more so, when the enormous expense involved in building and operating a ship canal was partially disclosed in the estimates therefor, made by the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways and submitted to Congress in 1900. The Government of the United States did not proceed with the construction of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Hudson River, that was sure to entail an expenditure of \$200,000,000 and possibly \$350,000,000 to \$500,000,000 that was likely to be of doubtful practicability, if completed as proposed. The problem of obtaining an ample water supply for the Oneida Lake-Rome summit lever was not easy of solution and was sure to fully tax, and possibly deplete for other purposes, the water resources of the watersheds tributary thereto. The economical and practical navigability of such waterway by large lake vessels is entirely problematical.

DELAY AND DANGER IN LOCKS.

The delays and dangers to vessels in locking down 330 feet into the Ontario basin through a flight of seven locks, each of 40½ feet descent with chambers 650 or more feet in length and from 65 to 80 feet in width, with 22 to 30 feet of water over mitre sills, in addition to the 40½ feet of water therein when filled, in such close proximity that a break in the uppermost of them would sweep away all other costly locks and flood the country below and possibly ruin the ship and cargo, and furthermore, in locking up from 133 to 170 feet from Lake Ontario to the Oneida Lake-Rome summit level through a succession of eight or more locks, depending on route, with lifts ranging from 20 to 42.8 feet and furthermore in locking from the Oneida

Lake-Rome summit level down 379 to 416 feet to the tide-waters of the Hudson through a succession of 22 locks with lifts ranging from 11 to 21½ feet and in winding down the canalized Mohawk River, hemmed in by double and quadruple railroad tracks and interrupted by railway and many highway bridges and on return trips passing through the same locks in inverse order, were so readily foreseen that neither vessel owners nor experienced shippers ever favored such a waterway.

In the meantime the State of New York prosecuted its investigations through experienced commissioners, legislative committees and otherwise, and finally adopted the views of Major Symons, Gen. Francis V. Greene and others and by the popular approval of four referendum measures in succession, bonded itself to expend \$154,800,000 for the construction of its Erie, Champlain, Oswego, Cayuga and Seneca canals, aggregating approximately 450 miles in length with their terminals, such canals having the dimensions already stated, substantially as recommended by Major Thomas W. Symons in his report of 1897, but more especially recommended by the Greene Canal Committee in 1900 and subsequently approved in the passage and approval of the Canal Survey Law of 1900, and in the passage through the Legislature and ratification by the electors of the several referendum measures hereinbefore outlined.

Dr. Leo Sympher of Berlin, the leading authority in Germany on its navigable waterways, aggregating 8,570 miles in extent in 1905, expressed his opinion to the chairman of this committee in terms of unqualified approval, of the barge type of canals for the purposes contemplated, which the state was about to construct.

The members of the International Congress of Navigation, comprising many of the leading engineers of Europe, inspected some parts of our barge canals in 1912 and lauded the great work New York was carrying to completion.

Authorities on inland waterway construction and operation the world over have pronounced them uniquely designed to secure the maximum efficiency in water carriage. They are the embodiment of the dream of State Engineer Martin Schenck, the realization of the ideal of Major Symons, and the final culmination of the masterful efforts of the Clintons and of the manifold activities of others, "whose number is legion," extending through the years to promote, as was prophesied by De Witt Clinton a century ago: "The commerce of the ocean and the trade of the lakes passing through one channel, supplying the wants, increasing the wealth and reciprocating the benefits of each great section of the empire, . . . producing a "canal as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it connects and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind." The foregoing prediction of De Witt Clinton has already been verified.

For the foregoing and other reasons a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario as a commercial waterway is not justified, and in the opinion of your committee its construction and operation would involve the government of the the United States in an expenditure of fifty or more millions of dollars without serving any substantial commercial purpose other than making it possible for a few vessels from the Great Lakes to descend into Lake Ontario, either to transfer their cargoes at Oswego to canal barges to be transported up over the Rome summit level 172 feet above Lake Ontario and thence down to the tidewaters of the Hudson river, or what is more likely to happen, to descend the St. Lawrence river to Montreal and divert thereto commerce from the port of New York.

Such proposed ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, as already shown, would neither cheapen the rates of transportation nor expedite the transit of tonnage from

the Great Lakes to the Atlantic ocean. Therefore your committee disapproves the project as a commercial waterway.

NO NECESSITY WILL BE SERVED.

From what has already been stated, it must be apparent to all that had there been any necessity—political, naval, military or commercial—for the construction of a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario or any real interest in the project, which has engaged the attention of worthy people and many theorists during the past century, undoubtedly either the Congress of the United States would have been prevailed upon to build it, or some one of the several corporations, chartered for that purpose, would have gone forward with its construction.

The fact that neither the United States Government nor any such corporation has done so, argues strongly against it. Rather than appropriate millions of dollars for the construction of such waterway, whose chief function would be to divert tonnage away from New York, it were far more statesmanlike for the United States Government to make a liberal contribution towards the cost of building the barge canals of New York which are destined to perform a most important service in the transportation of no small part of the products and commodities of a score of great states, bordering on the Great Lakes and on the Atlantic ocean, brought into navigable communication through such arteries of commerce.

Congress might well address itself to the matter of reimbursing the State of New York for its unprecedented outlay for the promotion of the domestic commerce of the United States, rather than expend its energies and waste the funds of the nation in waterway projects that tend to divert rather than promote such internal commerce. The State ought not to be forced to contribute to such projects and especially so after its good faith has been shown in its

waterway activities, extending over more than a century of time. Congress might more wisely appropriate funds to improve the prisms of the barge canals.

Wherefore a strong protest should be made by the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce to the State of New York and to the Federal Government in opposition to the construction of the proposed Niagara ship canal and an appeal might well be made by the state to the Congress of the United States for a substantial appropriation of money to the sinking funds of the State of New York, created to liquidate its canal bonded indebtedness.

We therefore recommend the adoption by the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce of the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

Resolved, That the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce strongly opposes a survey for a ship canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario as directed by the Act of Congress of July 27, 1916, on the grounds—

First: That the project is neither a political, naval, military or commercial necessity,

Second: That if it were constructed it would tend to divert commerce from the Great Lakes away from the state of New York down the St. Lawrence river, through the port of Montreal, to foreign markets, and largely that would be true, even though a ship canal were constructed from Oswego to the Hudson river, a distance of 172 miles, beset with many engineering obstacles and for whose operation an adequate supply of water may not be obtainable without depleting the water resources of the watersheds of Central New York, that are now needed for power purposes and may be imperatively demanded in the near future for municipal, domestic and potable consumption and for other domestic purposes,

Third: On the further ground that such ship canal would involve the expenditure of many millions of dollars, to which the State would be forced largely to contribute, despite the fact that the operation of such a canal would not cheapen the rates of transportation on tonnage

passing over it below the rates of transportation on tonnage over the barge canals and would tend to divert business from the state and the port of New York.

Fourth: On the further ground that such a ship canal in operation might prove to be an impracticable waterway and very difficult to navigate, as it is quite generally believed by experienced ship owners and operators, and in that event the moneys expended in its construction would be entirely wasted,

Fifth: The State of New York is now providing what is considered the most modern and well-equipped inland waterways in the world, which are believed will afford as cheap rates of transportation as it is possible to obtain on any interior waterway and these will afford as expeditious transportation of the products, commodities and tonnage of the state and of other states in touch with the barge canal system and there is no occasion for the construction of the proposed Niagara ship canal or any other ship canal between the Great Lakes and the ocean.

In the foregoing, your committee has not considered the feasibility or expediency of a canal between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario for sewage disposal or power development purposes, which are entirely divorced from the Niagara ship canal project.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

Canal Committee,

Dated April 25, 1917.

HENRY W. HILL, *Chairman*,
C. LEE ABEL,
HENRY V. BURNS,
EDWARD H. BUTLER,
SAMUEL J. DARK,
H. C. HARRISON,
MAXWELL M. NOWAK,
RICHARD C. O'KEEFE,
GEORGE W. SMITH,
HOWARD WINSHIP.

**PARTICIPATION OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IN THE
ERIE CANAL CENTENARY**

CELEBRATED AT ROME, N. Y., JULY 4, 1917

THE ERIE CANAL CENTENARY

OBSERVED AT ROME, N. Y., JULY 4, 1917

At the City of Rome, N. Y., on July 4, 1917, was celebrated the centennial of the Erie canal. That date marked the completion of the first hundred years since the first construction work was done on this great waterway from the Hudson to Lake Erie.

The exercises were held under the auspices of the New York State Waterways Association and the Rome Chamber of Commerce. The Buffalo Historical Society was conspicuously identified with the occasion through its president, Hon. Henry W. Hill, who, as president of the State Waterways Association, presided at the celebration; and also through the Hon. George Clinton, a special delegate from the Buffalo Society for this occasion, who made the principal historical address.

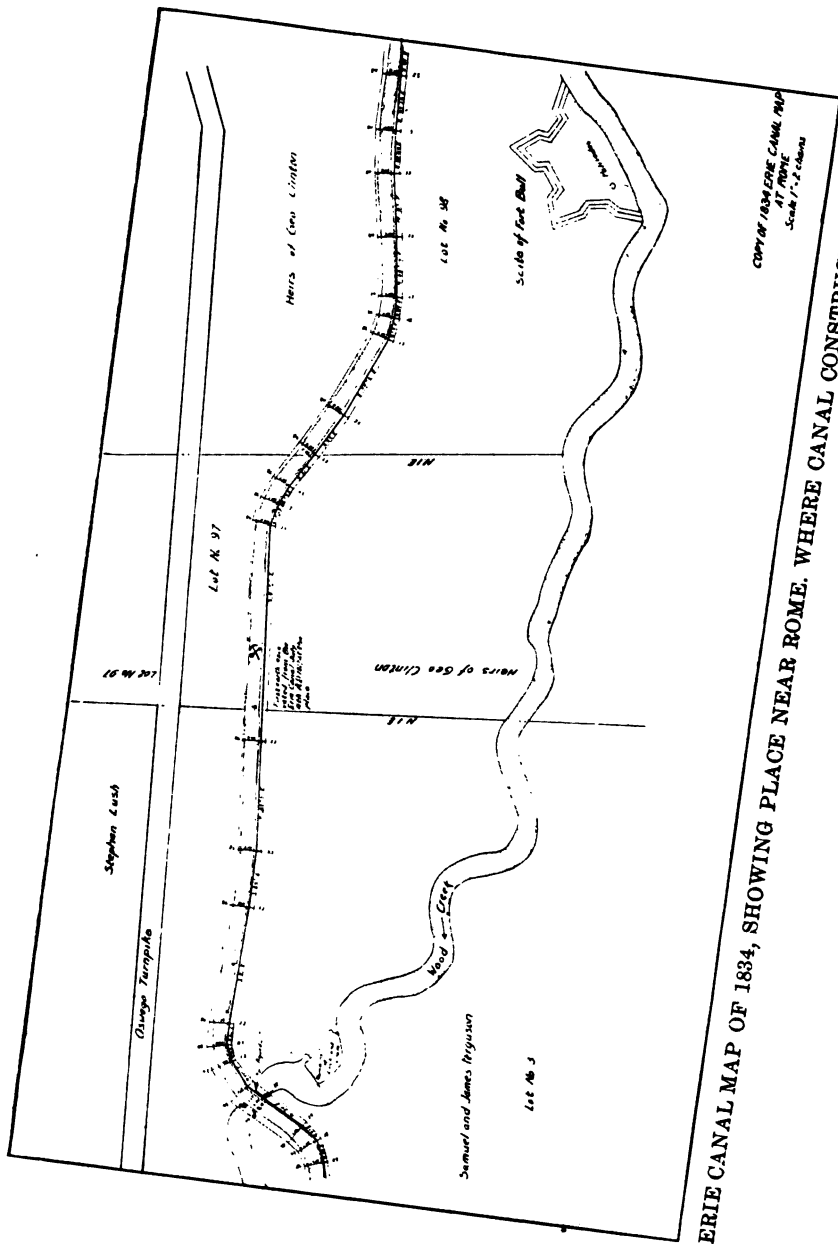
On the morning of the 4th, delegates to the celebration were conducted by the local Chamber of Commerce to numerous points of interest in and about Rome. The region is rich in sites of historical interest, and the visitors, in a long procession of automobiles, were afforded opportunity to inspect the spot where formerly stood Fort Stanwix, now in part occupied by the handsome Colonial home of the Rome Club. From here the visitors were taken along the line of the old carry, westward to Fort Bull, a site now marked by a boulder monument. Nearby are still to be seen remains of an ancient dam used in early days to hold back the water of Wood creek until the loaded boats were ready to start, when the gates would be opened and the boats floated on the flood on their way to Oneida lake.

Later the visitors inspected the summit level, where, at New London, is located the first of the two locks required to pass boats between the summit level of the Barge Canal and Oneida lake.

Finally, driving over what was formerly the old Oswego Plank Road, but is now an important State highway, the party arrived at the spot where, at sunrise, July 4, 1817, the first excavation for the Erie canal was made. The exact spot has been located by Senior Assistant Engineer Noble E. Whitford, and had been marked by a stake and pile of stones in which had been implanted a small cedar pole, cut from a nearby clump, from the top of which floated an American flag. As the spot happens to be in the now nearly dry bed of the recently abandoned portion of the Erie canal, it did not lend itself especially well to grouping about it a great number of people, but as many as could gather in the rather limited range of the camera did so and a picture of the historic place was taken. It is interesting to note in the group the presence of Hon. George Clinton, whose constant and efficient advocacy of an enlarged waterway has won for him the title of "Father of the Barge Canal"; for just a century ago his grandfather, Governor DeWitt Clinton, was present in person at this same spot aiding in the actual starting of the canal for which he had so persistently labored.

The inspection tour also included a visit to Hyland's Mills, with their famous fish-propagating ponds and springs; and the great Delta dam, which has made a lake from 50 to 60 feet deep and over eight miles long, covering completely the former village of Delta, in a valley which now forms the great storage basin for the Barge canal.

In the afternoon, at the Family theatre, in Rome, a great throng convened for exercises, presided over by Hon. Henry W. Hill. Governor Charles S. Whitman, Hon. F. M. Williams, State Engineer and Surveyor; Gen. W. W.



ERIE CANAL MAP OF 1834, SHOWING PLACE NEAR ROME, WHERE CANAL CONSTRUCTION BEGAN.

Wotherspoon, Superintendent of Public Works; Hon. Thaddeus C. Sweet, Speaker of the Assembly, and other State officials were present. Mr. S. H. Beach, Chairman of the local Committee of Arrangements, introduced Senator Hill with a brief, appropriate address. Chairman Hill in accepting the post of Chairman spoke as follows:

Mayor Midlam, Mr. Lawton, President of the Rome Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Clinton, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the New York State Waterways Association, State officers, ladies and gentlemen:

The celebration of Independence Day and of the beginning of the building of the Erie canal at Fort Stanwix, a century ago, was a happy omen of the fruition of both political and commercial freedom from pre-existing conditions, the first of which, prior to 1776, denied to the people of this and other provinces voice in public affairs and the latter of which hampered them in their activities. The enterprising citizens then residing in this historic region and the state officials, having the supervision of the first contract, dated June 27, 1817, for the construction of that section of the original Erie canal extending through the Rome summit level, wisely and enthusiastically participated in the public exercises on that occasion. Governor DeWitt Clinton, who took office on July 1, 1817, Col. Samuel Young and the other canal commissioners, state engineers, Judge Joshua Hathaway, who delivered an address, Judge John Richardson, who removed the first spadeful of dirt and many others joined in the ceremonies.

That was the culmination of the long and untiring efforts of DeWitt Clinton and others to establish navigable communication between the great lakes and the Atlantic ocean, an event at that time and under the conditions then existing of consummate achievement in statesmanship, that betokened the ultimate upbuilding of the state in agriculture, manufactures and of its far-reaching commerce to that of the proportions of an empire.

Col. Samuel Young in his address 100 years ago in this town on that occasion said: "We have assembled to commence the excavation of the Erie canal. The work when accomplished will connect our western inland seas with the Atlantic ocean. It will diffuse the benefits of internal navigation over a surface of vast extent, blessed with a salubrious climate and luxuriant soil, embracing a tract of country capable of sustaining more human beings than were ever accommodated by any work of the kind."

DeWitt Clinton predicted it would be a "canal as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it would connect, and as to the consequences, which it would produce, without a parallel in the history of mankind."

These prophetic utterances to some extent indicate the sweep of vision of those who projected New York's matchless canal system, that has contributed immeasurably to the upbuilding of its diversified activities, its wealth and its liberal humanities.

In appreciation of the manifold activities and inestimable services of the Clintons and others, whose "number is legion," and of the foresight, liberality and sacrifices of the people of the state a century ago in providing for and carrying to completion the most gigantic American undertaking in some respects of the 19th century, we are assembled to observe the centenary of the beginning of its building in this vicinity on July 4, 1817.

The people of the State of New York are officially represented by His Excellency Governor Whitman and Speaker Thaddeus C. Sweet of the Assembly, State Engineer and Surveyor Frank M. Williams, Superintendent of Public Works General W. W. Wotherspoon, members of the canal board, the New York State Waterways Association, by its president, its vice-presidents, the chairman of its executive committee, George Clinton, the chairman of its committee on resolutions, P. W. Cullinan, several other state association officers and by many of its members, the City of Rome is represented by its mayor, Mr. Midlam, and other officers and many of its citizens and the Rome Chamber of Commerce by its president, Mr. Lawton, and many of its members and many other cities and commercial organizations are represented by delegates, a list of which so far as obtainable, will appear in the official records of the celebration. In addition to these, many representative citizens from the political divisions of the state are in attendance to join in the centenary exercises. To all these officials, delegates and representatives and to all others present on this occasion, we join with Chairman Beach of the Rome Canal Centenary Committee in extending a hearty welcome. We will now proceed with the formal addresses, which will be both edifying and highly entertaining.

New York has excelled in its chief executives. They have quite generally appreciated its unique position among the states of the Union and have done what they were able to do to promote its commercial as well as its general development to the proportions of an empire.

Chairman Hill introduced for the first speaker of the afternoon, Hon. George Clinton, chairman of the executive committee of the New York State Waterways Association, and special delegate from the Buffalo Historical Society for the centenary celebration. Mr. Clinton's address is given in full, in pages following. Others who spoke, following Mr. Clinton, were Governor Whitman; Hon. Frank M. Williams, State Engineer and Surveyor; Hon. Thaddeus C. Sweet, Speaker of the Assembly; Mr. E. R. Carhart of New York, former president of the New York Produce Exchange; Mr. W. Pierrepont White of Utica, and Oswald P. Backus of Rome.

EVOLUTION OF THE NEW YORK CANAL SYSTEM

BY HON. GEORGE CLINTON.¹

To give a complete history of the canals down to the time of the first improvement would take much greater time and space than the present occasion warrants. This paper will therefore be limited to sketching the evolution of our canal system and the improvement of the canals, with a mere outline of their history.

While all the heads of the state have contributed largely to its prosperity, by far the greatest agency in laying the foundations of New York's commercial and industrial supremacy has been the Erie canal, and the three canals most intimately connected with the early history of the state have been that and the Champlain and Oswego canals. This paper will, therefore, be devoted primarily to the Erie and the Oswego, with such relation of historic facts as cluster around the Champlain canal that may be of interest.

THE ORIGINAL CANAL IDEA.

In the past there has been much controversy over the interesting question, "Who originated the Erie canal?" It is enough to say that after all that has been written and said on this subject it is not possible truly to give the credit for this to any one person for the simple reason that no one originated the idea of the Erie canal as constructed. So far as the basic idea of connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson by water channel is concerned, the statement made by Cadwalader D. Colden in 1825 in his memoirs prepared at the request of a committee of the Common Council of the City of New York correctly and clearly enunciates the impossibility of coming to any conclusion. He says: "How much in vain, then, must it be to inquire who first thought to connect the western and northern and southern waters. Many had opportunities of acquiring all the knowledge connected with the subject, and it is probable that the thought of water communications, where they are now made by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, was common to hundreds at the same time. Could we pursue this inquiry with any prospect of success it would be a futile labor. The discovery would be of no benefit to the community, and but little more credit would be due to one to whom the original thought might be traced if he did nothing towards executing the idea he had conceived than if it had been a dream" (page 13).

1. Address at the centennial of the beginning of construction work on the Erie Canal, at Rome, N. Y., July 4, 1917. Mr. Clinton was a special delegate from the Buffalo Historical Society on this occasion.

This was written by Mr. Colden almost one hundred years after the idea of making some connection with the Great Lakes by water had been suggested by his grandfather, Cadwalader D. Colden, then surveyor general of the Province of New York. The truth is that the Erie canal and our other canals are the products of evolution, increase of knowledge and the growing demands of commerce.

MANY DESERVE CREDIT.

If the limitations of this paper would permit, it would be interesting to trace at length the parts taken by the many thoughtful and able men in the projection, advocacy and construction of our canals; but there are so many who are entitled to greater or less credit that a discussion of the parts taken by them would occupy so much space it would be impossible to lay before this convention the facts which I regard as of most importance and of the greatest interest. I may, however, mention a few names of those who have been given, and are entitled to, credit for suggestion, promotion, investigation, advocacy and legislative and constructive action during the early stages of the consideration of the propriety of constructing the Erie, Oswego and Champlain canals and during the actual creation of those great works. In addition to Christopher Colles, an ardent advocate of constructing a canal through from the Hudson to the Great Lakes, Elkanah Watson, who claimed the credit of suggesting the idea of the Erie, but who merely independently voiced what was in the minds of many people; Gouverneur Morris, who was one of the first canal commissioners, appointed on account of his ability and because he had also suggested the possibility of connecting the Erie with the Hudson; Messrs. Adgate, Williams, Livingstone and Barker, all of whom took a very active part in the legislative transactions which resulted in canal construction; George Clinton, first Governor of the State; George Washington, first President of the United States and commander of the Revolutionary forces; Cadwalader D. Colden, John Smith, Peter Schuyler, Jesse Hawley, Joshua Forman, Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt, Jeremiah VanRensselaer and Cadwalader D. Colden, the younger, are entitled to our grateful remembrance and the greatest credit for promoting the artificial inland waterway system of our State. I have not yet mentioned my ancestor, DeWitt Clinton. He was chosen by the canal advocates of that day on account of his great ability, energy and deep interest in the public welfare as the great champion of our waterways, and to him the credit is due of co-ordinating the labor of the others and by his eloquence and knowledge securing the necessary legislation and finances and the actual construction of our great canals. Yet, when speaking of the canals, he, recognizing that he alone could never have brought about the consummation of these great works and that many others were as necessary as he to their achievement, said, "for the good which has been done by individuals or communities, in relation to this work, let each have a due share of credit."

It is interesting to follow this process of evolution of ideas that has given us our artificial waterways. We are apt to give particular individuals too much credit for their greatness and we are prone not to acknowledge the great Power above which guides our destinies

and the lessons taught to men by nature herself. Indeed, we do not often enough stop to think that the individual—his physical energy and his mental capacity—is the child of nature and the servant of the laws of God, built up and enabled to see and to act through a growth of thought and action that has preceded him for centuries. Canals were constructed at least 600 years before Christ.

OUR EARLY SETTLERS.

When the English colonized America they planted their settlements along the Atlantic coast. The colonists were barred from the great middle west by the mountains, knew little thereof and of the Pacific coast. The great barrier between them and the middle west was the Appalachian chain of mountains. When the French took possession of the part of the North American continent which they at first occupied, they settled upon the St. Lawrence and were not barred from the great west by any high mountain ridge. At the time of these early settlements the great Iroquois Confederacy, the Five Nations, inhabited and dominated the State of New York from the Hudson to Lake Erie. They were savages pure and simple, cannibalistic, living by the chase, except as they raised maize and a few vegetables and gathered wild fruits, berries and bark. They were warlike and occupied the great military strategic point of this continent. From their domains they could reach the Atlantic coast by the Mohawk and the Hudson, by the Delaware and by the Susquehanna, and they could reach the Ohio and the Mississippi by the Allegheny and, with portages by the great rivers that run southerly from and northerly into Lake Erie, in addition to having the Great Lakes at their command for reaching the northwest, as well as the Desplaines and the Illinois, and, by that way, the Mississippi. With these water communications and through the valleys of the streams they carried on a ruthless war against their neighbors. There was practically no interchange of products between them and other tribes and no commerce.

The face of nature invited the English and the French by the way of the St. Lawrence, the Niagara and the Great Lakes, as well as the Ohio and the Mississippi, the Mohawk and the Hudson to extend their possessions and carry on the fur trade with the savages of the continent. This, the fur trade, was the beginning of the great commerce which now flows between the east and the west in the United States and Canada. The English were barred from the northern routes and the St. Lawrence, although they could reach the St. Lawrence by the Hudson, Lake George, Lake Champlain and the rivers, which, with portages, connect those waters with the Great St. Lawrence.

EARLY APPRECIATION OF WATER ROUTES.

I cannot go into detail of the contest for supremacy between the French and English and it must suffice to say that both the French and the English endeavored to take the greatest advantage of the water communications I have mentioned and that the easiest and most economical way for communication with the Great Lakes was

by Lake Ontario and the Niagara to Lake Erie, the only obstacle to water transportation being the heavy portage around the falls and rapids of the Niagara. The French carried on their fur trade with the west by the St. Lawrence and this route and the English reached Lake Ontario by the Hudson river, the Mohawk, portaging into Lake Oneida and thence down the Oswego. It is interesting to note that the St. Lawrence in those days was called the Cataraqui, Lake Ontario had the same name as the river and the Oswego was called the Onondaga.

The vital importance of connecting the English and French colonies with the Great Lakes in order to carry on the fur trade successfully was apparent to both nationalities. Thus nature had already pointed the way for commerce and the dominion of the continent. It is therefore not surprising that as the heavy portage around the falls and rapids of the Niagara added greatly to the cost and burden of carrying on the only commerce that existed between the east and the west, men should unconsciously take advantage of the book which nature laid before them and, studying it, seek to extend the communication by water directly between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie so that canoes and bateaux, and even small vessels, could proceed directly from the St. Lawrence to Mackinac, the foot of Lake Michigan and the head of Lake Superior without any portages except the one at Sault St. Marie. The French were the first to take this idea up. Cadillac in 1707, communicated with the minister of Louis XIV a scheme for a canal between the two lakes. We do not have the exact idea of Cadillac, but we do possess the reply of the minister to him. I quote from "An Old Frontier of France," a very thorough, able and interesting early history of the Niagara Frontier, written by Frank H. Severance and published for the Buffalo Historical Society. He says (page 161, Vol. I):

"A document of the time, of singular interest, is a letter from the minister, Pontchartrain, to La Mothe-Cadillac, in which, replying to a proposal of the latter to connect Lakes Erie and Ontario by a canal, it is remarked: 'It does not seem to me that we can at present undertake the junction of the Lake Ontario with Lake Erie by a canal, as you propose, because of the expense. However, send me an analyzed statement (*"Un mémoire raisonné"*), with a plan and estimate of cost.'"

We thus see the germ of the idea of the Erie canal, that is direct water communication between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes.

Further evidence that this was not a mere dream, but that Cadillac was in earnest is found in a communication between Cadillac and D'Aigremont with Pontchartrain, the French minister. To quote again from Mr. Severance's work (page 201, Vol. I):

"On this point a document of 1708, summarizing certain letters of Cadillac, says: 'It would be necessary to make a junction between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. He says that he knows, for that (purpose), a way and a canal which has remained unknown to everyone else until now.' He may have had the Grand River and western end of Lake Ontario in mind; if not, one is at a loss to know what

he did mean. Two years later the *Sieur d'Aigremont*, reporting on conditions at lake posts, wrote:

" 'When I passed the portage at Niagara it did not appear to me that any communication between Lake Ontario or Lake Erie could be made that could avoid this portage, and if *M. de la Mothe* knows a means of doing so, I think he is the only man in the country who does. But, My Lord, even if it were true that a communication with Lake Ontario or Lake Erie could be made it could only be done with very great expense and it would not follow from that, that Detroit would be able to obtain from Montreal any help it might need in case of war with the Iroquois, for such help could not even be given to Fort Frontenac, which has to be passed through on the way to Detroit.' "

Thus we see that the French were seriously considering a small canal around the falls and rapids of the Niagara.

As the minister of Louis XIV seemed to regard the project of a canal as inadvisable in his time "because of the expense," it is of some interest to note what the fur traffic with the Indians amounted to so far as the French Government was concerned. *Mr. Severance*, at page 205 of his work, gives us, from authentic documents, a glimpse of the value of this trade, which amounted in profit to about one thousand dollars a year of our money. I quote (page 205):

THE DAY OF SMALL THINGS.

"That it was the day of small things, in trade as in war, may be illustrated by a statement of provisions, munitions and merchandise sent to the Lake Ontario posts—Frontenac, Niagara, head of the lake, Bay of Quinté—for the year 1722-23. The total government outlay for the three sorts of supplies was 29,800 livres, 17 sous, 6 deniers. Furs from these points, not including Quinté, in 1722, netted 18,178 livres; in 1723, 22,732 livres. This of course was by exchange. In the same season, wages of employes at Frontenac came to 900 livres; the storkeeper at Niagara received 400 livres per annum and the gunsmith the same. The pay of six soldiers was 180 livres each. In the two years named, there was charged to transportation on Lake Ontario 1,050 livres. The total expense of administering these posts, 1722-23, was 35,210 li. 17 s. 6 d.; total receipts from sale of peltries 40,911 li. 8 s. 6 d., a profit of 570 li. 11s.—or a little over \$1,000 a year. This was the trade for which *Joncaire* labored and lived with the Iroquois, for which the Niagara was occupied, for which two great Powers contended!'

LAKE ERIE WITH THE HUDSON.

In the meantime the English were not idle. As the French through *Joncaire* had secured control of the Niagara, the English colonists were practically compelled to carry on the fur trade with the Indians of the west by intercepting their canoes on Lake Ontario and by reaching Lake Erie overland from the south shore of Lake Ontario and from the Seneca River. These means of communication were so expensive and burdensome on account of the long distance by land

that Cadwalader D. Colden in 1724, he then being surveyor general for the colony of New York, examined into the question of feasibility of communication with the west through the Great Lakes by an entirely inland water route. As a result he presented to Governor Burnet a memorial concerning the fur trade of the province of New York, in which he discusses the relative positions of the French and English geographically, their command of the different waters and their facilities for controlling the fur trade. He recognized the necessity of securing water communication, if possible, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. He describes the route pursued by the Indian traders from the Hudson to Lake Ontario as follows: "From Albany the Indian traders carry their goods sixteen miles overland to the Mohawk River at Schenectady. From Schenectady they carry them in canoes up the Mohawk River to the carrying place between the Mohawk River and the river which runs into Oneida Lake, which carrying place between is only three miles long, except in very dry weather, when they are obliged to carry them two miles further. From thence they go with the current down the Onondaga River to Lake Ontario." He then adverts to the possibility of connecting, by way of the Onondaga (Oswego) River and the Seneca River, by water directly with Lake Erie. In some document which I have seen he even suggests investigation. The language which he uses in suggesting the possibility of water communication with Lake Erie is as follows:

"But besides this passage by the lakes, there is a river which comes from the country of the Senecas, and falls into the Onondaga River, by which we have an easy carriage into that country, without going near Lake Ontario. The head of this river goes near to Lake Erie, and probably may give a very near passage into that lake, much more advantageous than the way the French are obliged to take by the great fall of Niagara, because narrow rivers are much safer for canoes than the lakes, where they are obliged to go ashore if there be any wind upon the water. But as this passage depends upon a further discovery, I shall say nothing more of it at this time."

Colden's suggestions do not seem to have been acted upon but they certainly show that men as early as 1724 recognized the necessity and were thinking of the possibility of a connection of Lake Erie with the Hudson.

Probably following the ideas suggested by Colden's memorial, Governor Burnet in 1724 established a substantial settlement where Oswego now stands, with a view to intercepting the Indian canoes from the west bearing furs destined for Montreal and inducing them to change their destination to Albany.

NATURE'S GEOGRAPHIC PLAN.

We thus see that nature's geographic plan, the topography of the continent, the courses of the streams and the situation of the lakes, the location of the tribes of savages and the abundance of fur bearing animals led men on to conquest and trade and taught them that the waterways furnished them the best and cheapest means of reap-

ing the advantages of commerce with the savages and that those routes should be utilized to the best advantage by connecting them with artificial waterways. And so we see that from a process of knowledge gained and evolution of ideas the connection of the upper lakes with Lake Ontario and with the Hudson naturally presented itself to the minds of the early colonists. That the knowledge and ideas thus gained should have been lost and revived in later years is impossible and I think it goes without saying that increase of knowledge, increase of commerce, the settling of the west, increase of wealth and means of construction simply continued the process of nature's teachings in the minds of many men, with the result that the Erie and Oswego canals came into being.

WARS HELPED PROGRESS.

Among other factors, in addition to the greed for conquest and a desire to build up commerce, we find that war is a potent one in the evolution of all great human undertakings. It not only teaches man many things that help his progress, but it often removes obstacles in the way of commerce and industry. We find that with free use of the waterways between the east and the west sought by the French at Niagara, the English colonists made comparatively little advance in their endeavor to extend colonization, and trade with the western Indians. But when the so-called French and Indian war was ended and the treaty of peace between France and England signed in 1763, French domain and control east of the Mississippi River ended and the British became possessed of the entire country, which included the Great Lakes, the Ohio and its tributaries and all the waters and portages which connect that great river with the Great Lakes and the upper lakes with Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. This removed the greatest obstacle to English colonization of, and trade with, the west, and set them to thinking more seriously of improving the means of water transportation by artificial canals.

AN EVOLUTION.

The treaty of 1763 was naturally followed by an extension of English colonization in this State and to some extent in the West, and trade with the Indians was fostered and grew. This condition of affairs brought forcibly to the minds of men the absolute necessity of providing cheaper and more expeditious means of transportation. There being no railroads and the construction of highways through the mountains and dense forests and over a multitude of streams was not within the means or capacity of the colonists. Indeed such construction would have been too slow and would have retarded colonization and trade if relied upon. The inevitable consequence was that men thought and schemed for the improvement of nature's highways—the waterways. What they learned and the knowledge they transmitted to those that followed them led on to the final consummation—the construction of our canals.

While the slow work of advancing civilization was proceeding, the war of the Revolution came. That also performed a great work in the civilizing and peopling of the United States. When, in 1783, Great

Britain by treaty acknowledged the Independence of the United States, the St. Lawrence from St. Regis, Lake Ontario, the Niagara and the upper lakes and their connecting waters became the boundary between Canada and the United States, Lake Michigan passing wholly under our jurisdiction, and the Ohio and its tributaries were included within the limits of the independent states under conflicting grants from the British crown. The great northwest territory or parts of it was claimed by Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York, but in a spirit of amity and for the good of the new nation, compromises were made and the territory turned over to the nation, with certain proprietary reservations in parts, that did not involve sovereignty. This immense area was thus opened to settlement and colonists began to cross the mountains. Still one obstacle to untrammelled colonization of the territory existed which had to be removed by war. The Indians in the territory were savage and implacable. They feared and therefore resisted the inflow of the white man. It was not until General Wayne in 1794 defeated the Indians at the great battle of the Fallen Timber that they were forced to make a treaty which opened the northwest to immigration and settlement without hindrance.

IMMIGRATION'S INFLUENCE.

We can now trace another great factor in the evolution of human affairs which led up to the building of the canals. War had done its work well and the colonists and people from across the Atlantic beheld the opportunity to acquire homes in the fertile northwest territory. The influx of immigrants west of the mountains at first was largely confined to the western part of our State and Tennessee and Kentucky. As the population in New York State increased the necessity for cheap transportation in our own State became apparent and when, subsequently, the immigration increased and flowed beyond our boundary into the territory now comprising Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the need for water communication directly between the Atlantic by way of the Hudson and the Mohawk, together with the Great Lakes, stared our people in the face. The cost of carriage of persons and property was almost prohibitive. The waterways were the only available highways, and the many and heavy portages occasioned such great loss of time and so much labor that the expense of carriage could not be reduced. There were some roads, it is true, but they were not of the best and were utterly insufficient. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that not only were means of access to the Northwest Territory a necessity to enable immigrants to reach it, but it was also a necessity to keep them supplied with necessaries, clothing and the materials and implements for building and for cultivating the land, as well as food until they could support themselves. Immigrants, too, could not make any reasonable progress unless they were able to send their products of the land and the forest to the east; they could not buy from the east unless they could sell to it.

Nevertheless, immigration continued to flow into the Northwest Territory to such an extent that it was very early divided into separate territorial jurisdictions and the increase of population was such

that Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were admitted to the Union in the early years of the last century.

A UNITED STATES CANAL.

We thus see that with full knowledge of the physical condition of the country, with the lessons of the past before them, with the limited commerce represented by the fur trade having grown into the great commerce existing and potential which the settlement of the Northwest Territory created, the thoughts of, not one man or a few men, but of many men reverted to the same ideas shadowed forth by Colden in 1724; namely, the connecting of the waters of Lake Ontario with those of Lake Erie by an artificial waterway, through which boats could pass without having to surmount the heavy portage at Niagara, and the overcoming of the obstacles of navigation between the Hudson and Lake Ontario by way of the Mohawk, Oneida Lake and the Oswego River. The great obstacles to water transportation between the Hudson and Lake Ontario were, the portage around the great fall of the Mohawk River, the portage around the little falls of that river, a few rapids, the portage from the Mohawk into Wood Creek and the portages of the Oswego River. There was talk and constant talk about a canal around the Falls and there was agitation to remove the obstacles between Lake Ontario and the Hudson. Men knew, in a general way, what the necessities were and what should be done, but there was no definite plan. Finally Christopher Colles took the matter up and ably and independently urged upon the Legislature of New York the improvement of the Mohawk, and the construction of a canal from Rome to, and the improvement of, Wood Creek. During these times discussion of the wisdom and feasibility of reaching the St. Lawrence by connecting the upper Hudson with Lake Champlain and that lake with the Chambly, arose. This route, however, it was quite plain would not greatly facilitate communication with the west by water, for the St. Lawrence would be reached near Montreal and the heavy current and great rapids, as well as the long distance necessary to reach the east end of Lake Ontario would make the route certainly more expensive for transportation to the west and to the Northwest Territory than the direct route from the Hudson, by the Mohawk, Oneida Lake, the Oswego River and Lake Ontario. In addition to this the exigencies of war had to be considered. Communication by the Hudson-Champlain-Chambly route would be partly through Canadian territory by land and a long distance through it by water, and it would be more available for us by the British, in case of war, than it would to the State of New York or the United States, for it would furnish a direct highway of attack, the strategic route for entering New York, the same route followed by Champlain, Montcalm and Burgoyne. Thus the natural exigencies of commerce, as well as the threat of the god of war led our people to center their minds on the improvement of the waterways within our own boundary and led up directly to the construction of the Erie Canal.

Cadwalader Colden nearly a century before the time that I am speaking of had, in the report to which I have referred, pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of the two water routes and pro-

nounced strongly in favor of the interior water route by the Mohawk, and Governor Burnet had anticipated the utilization of that route by planting his settlement at Oswego.

We thus find that a difference of nationality, impediments to transportation and the physical conditions resulted in a consensus of opinion that while the Champlain route was advisable for trade with Canada, the interior route through the State of New York to the Great Lakes was the only one which could insure our commerce with the west, expedite the settlement of the great Northwest, preserve the advantages of the State of New York in commerce and its various industries and be available, not being exposed to attack, to aid operations in case of war. In other words, the geographical and political conditions were still operating powerfully towards the construction of a canal from the Hudson to the Great Lakes.

This resulted in the passage in the Assembly March 21, 1808, of a resolution instructing the surveyor general, then Simeon DeWitt, to make an accurate survey of the waterways on the usual route of communication between the Hudson River and Lake Erie and such other contemplated route as he might deem proper. The Senate concurred in this resolution April 6, 1808, and the surveyor general appointed James Geddes to do the work. October 20, 1809, Geddes made a report to the surveyor general in which he covered very thoroughly the different routes which might be pursued, one by the way of Lake Ontario and one directly from Three River Point to Lake Erie. This report is very valuable historically and has great merit from an engineering point of view. Geddes considers all the engineering features of both routes and the variation possibly of the route to Lake Erie. However, the details of the report are not pertinent for the purposes of this address. Nevertheless, it is curious to know that the same questions which have arisen several times since in connection with a proposed ship canal around Niagara Falls were being considered at that time, as plainly appears from Mr. Geddes' statement in the report comparing the merits of the two routes. He says:

ARGUMENT OVER ROUTES.

"In comparing the Ontario route with the interior one, it is obstinately insisted upon, in favor of the latter, that it would be bad policy in the United States, to open a communication for sloops between Erie and Ontario, as the products of all the upper lakes would on their passage to the ocean, come into Ontario, and when there, the lockage to the tide in the St. Lawrence being only 206 feet, while it is 574 feet to the tide in the Hudson, there would be danger of the whole lake trade being diverted to a port in the territory of another nation. It is likewise contended, that if the two routes should not differ materially in the cost of making, the interior one ought to be preferred, as being free from the risk and uncertainty of wind and waves: That merchants can afford to pay higher freight when property is secure, and will arrive on a day certain. 'It is a consideration of some importance,' says a correspondent, 'that the inland canal would always be safe in the event of war with Great Britain. It will impose an additional value on a long tract of fine

country, through which it must pass; will increase its population, and of course the wealth and prosperity of the state.' On the other hand, it is insisted upon that cheapness of conveyance, the grand desideratum in all such works, would best be obtained by the Ontario route, as the great emporium of the lakes would be 150 miles nearer the tide in the Hudson, if placed at Oswego, than if at Black Rock; and that the produce of the upper lakes would be carried cheaper through Ontario to Oswego, than 150 miles forward on a canal. In answer to this the fact is stated, that \$5.25 is now the common price for carrying 7 barrels (about a ton) of salt from Oswego to Lewiston, 26 miles short of Black Rock, while, according to Mr. Robert Fulton's calculation, a ton would be carried 150 miles on a canal for \$1.50. Mr. F. supposes the case of a canal being made at the public expense, and no toll taken but the charge of the bargemen. If the cost of making would amount to the same on either route, then the toll due a canal company would be the same on either, and the one being set off against the other, brings it to the bargemen's charge as stated by Mr. F."

The additional argument for the interior route and against the Ontario route, with a ship canal around the Falls, which, as we have seen, appeared in the report of Cadwalader Colden, colonial surveyor general in 1724, that commerce once reaching Lake Ontario from the west would be likely to pass down the St. Lawrence route to Montreal, whereas this could not occur if the interior route were adopted, does not seem to have been advanced. This probably was so because the rapids of the St. Lawrence seemed an insurmountable obstacle to direct commerce between Montreal and the west by vessels larger than bateaux. This obstacle had been foreseen nearly a century before, together with a remedy which has since been applied by the Canadian government; namely, the construction of canals around the rapids.

EARLY WATER CORPORATIONS.

Prior to this survey and leading up to it two corporations had been created by the Legislature for the improvement of navigation between the Hudson and Oswego, the Western and the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Companies. The promoters of these companies were General Philip Schuyler and Elkanah Watson and they were the most active in their operations. The Western Company was to improve the western route and the Northern Company to connect Lake Champlain with the upper Hudson. These companies expended very considerable amounts of money, raised by subscription and appropriation by the Legislature, in building locks at Little Falls, at some places around other rapids in the Mohawk and in connecting the Mohawk at Rome, or rather where Rome now is, with Wood Creek and Oneida Lake, and the Northern Company did some work towards connecting the Hudson with Lake Champlain. Nevertheless it soon became apparent that these improvements were utterly inadequate to care for the increasing flow of immigration to the western part of this State and the great Northwest Territory, accompanied as it was with the necessity for better facilities for carriage of the commerce that was constantly swelling. It was this condition

of affairs which led to the investigation in 1808 of the physical conditions guiding and controlling the feasibility and economy of a through adequate water route between the Great Lakes and the Hudson, and to the legislative resolution directing the surveyor general to survey and report.

INCREASE OF POPULATION.

At this point it is of interest to note the increase of population in the area covered by the Northwest Territory. Soon after that great area had been conveyed to the United States it was divided into territories, Ohio and Indiana being shortly after cut out, and Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Minnesota subsequently created. As I have stated, the Indians in the territory covered now by Ohio and part of Indiana were conquered by General Wayne in 1794, those further west were defeated and brought into subjection by General Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe in Indiana in 1811. The precarious condition arising from the hostility of the Indians prevented at first the rapid settlement of the territory and after the Indians were brought into subjection, immigration began to increase. Ohio was made a state in 1802 or 1803 (there is a dispute as to the date arising from the peculiar enactments of Congress); its population in 1800 was 45,365; in 1810 it was 230,760; in 1820 it had increased to 581,295. The State of Indiana was admitted in 1816; its population in 1800 was 5,641; in 1810, 24,420, and in 1820, 147,178. Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818; in 1810 its population was 12,282; in 1820, 55,162, this state growing more slowly than Indiana and Ohio in white population on account of the unsettled conditions existing between the Indians and the whites up to and throughout the war of 1812. The other western states were very sparsely settled until after the events connected with the construction of the Erie Canal, to which we are now giving attention. These figures show very clearly that as soon as immigrants in the Northwest Territory could safely settle and cultivate their farms, they began to seek the great west in large numbers. This of course stimulated the efforts of far-seeing men in this state to secure water communication with the Great Lakes. I have not mentioned the increase of population in New York State, but this also is of interest as bearing upon the evolution of the idea of the Erie Canal. Up to the Revolution the population of New York began to grow and find its way westward, necessitating better communications between the eastern and western parts of the state and becoming a potent factor in the agitation for a canal through to Lake Erie. The population of New York (confined almost wholly to the eastern part of the state) was, in 1719, 340,120; in 1800, 589,051; in 1810, 959,049; in 1820, 1,372,111. Space and time will not permit me to go into the details of the distribution of this population and it must suffice to say that towns and villages sprang up along the Mohawk and west to the Genesee Valley and to Buffalo at Lake Erie, as well as through what we commonly call the present southern tier of counties.

WASHINGTON'S PLAN.

It would seem that enough has been said to show that the idea of a water connection between the Hudson by Lake Erie was the outgrowth of circumstances, and that the route, so far as the State of New York and the United States were concerned, was all that was in contention in the early part of the nineteenth century. Whether a canal should be built which would have Oswego for its terminus and pass Niagara Falls by a ship canal, or whether the terminus, by an inland route, should be Lake Erie, was the only mooted question. This was discussed, pro and con, and reasons given by many for the one route and for the other, but there was nothing definite known or settled upon. Washington has been given credit for suggesting a through route, but he never did, he merely spoke of the feasibility of a water route through the state to connect eastern New York with the Lakes, something that hundreds of other men knew and talked about. Washington, indeed, had a plan of his own which was utterly antagonistic to the interests of New York State. He urged roads to connect Maryland and Virginia with the west and the construction of a canal to connect with the Allegheny from Lake Erie and from that river or the Monongahela by canal across the mountains to the navigable waters of the Potomac, a plan which, if successful, would have diverted the commerce of the west from our own state.

The same factors were influencing the minds of men in the days of which I have spoken; those who had particular interests advocating the Oswego route, and those who were looking to the great interests of the country and the state, looking to an inland route. Among the latter might be mentioned Christopher Colles, who, without definite plan, urged very early in the last century direct connection by an inland route with Lake Erie, and Elkanah Watson who later advocated the same idea. It would seem, however, that Gouverneur Morris is entitled to credit for the first conception of a dream of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson. As early as 1803, he made the suggestion, but he had no definite plan, his idea being impracticable from an engineering point of view. It was that a canal should be constructed practically upon an inclined plane, of course with descending locks to the Hudson.

The necessity for an adequate canal connection with Lake Erie by some route and the constant discussion resulted in the Legislature, by joint resolution of March, 1810, appointing a commission "to explore the route of an inland navigation from Hudson's River to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie." The commissioners were Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Simeon DeWitt, W. North, Thomas Eddy and Robert R. Livingston. These commissioners on March 2, 1811, made a full report after personal inspection of all available routes, they having the assistance of competent engineers. This legislation and the selection of the personnel of the commission was largely due to the energy and ability of DeWitt Clinton, he having been chosen to head the advocates of a canal through to Lake Erie.

CLINTON'S PRIVATE JOURNAL.

Clinton kept a private journal of the trip through the State, which has been published and is of great interest. It not only indicates the care taken by the commissioners in making their investigations, but gives a picture of the settlements and people along the entire route. The journal covers many pages. The commissioners left Albany on the 3d of July, 1810, and wended their way by boat and wheeled vehicles, following the route of the Mohawk, crossing over the divide at Rome and proceeding through Oneida Lake. Clinton speaks of the earnings of the Western Canal Company at Little Falls, stating that in April, May and June, two hundred and forty-two boats passed the Falls. He gives the amounts received by the Company for tolls from 1803 to 1810, amounting to something less than fifty thousand dollars. He also refers to the fact that two boats passed through the locks in the presence of the commissioners, one a Durham boat from Ithaca with potash, part of which came from Oswego, stating that the boat when fully loaded drew twenty-eight inches of water and was capable of carrying one hundred barrels of potash or two hundred and forty of flour; that it paid for lockage at Rome \$16.50. He also speaks of Utica as a flourishing village and gives us the information that produce is carried by land from Utica to Albany, the freight rate being eight shillings for one hundred pounds, by water to Schenectady, six shillings. This would be about 20 cents per ton mile by land and 15 cents per ton mile by water. This rate necessarily was largely increased by the difficulties of navigation west of Utica and by the necessity of carriage by land over many miles. We thus can see the pressing necessity of furnishing cheap water navigation to Lake Erie, because the rate was almost prohibitive, even in those days; today it would absolutely prevent commerce passing through the State of New York. The diary then carries us to Fort Stanwix or Fort Schuyler, Rome. Clinton speaks of it as important strategically to protect the passage between the Lakes and the Mohawk River. He also states the interesting fact that the commissioners dined on a salmon caught in Fish Creek about eight miles from Rome. In this connection he remarks that salmon came into the Lake Oneida and continued until winter; that they brought sixpence a pound. The diary carries us down the Oswego River and up the Seneca River and overland to Buffalo. By way of Lewiston, the Niagara portage and past Niagara Falls, the route followed by the commissioners ended at Lake Erie. At Buffalo. Clinton says, there were thirty or forty houses, the Court House of Niagara County, several stores and taverns and a post office. He remarks that it is a place of great resort and that all persons that travel to the western states and Ohio, from the eastern states, and all that visit the Falls of Niagara, come this way.

We thus get an idea of the social condition of affairs existing in the state when the exploration for an inland navigation route was made in 1810, supplementing what has been said about the influx of population to the western part of the state and the Northwest Territory.

FAVORED INLAND ROUTE.

The report of the Commission is a very able one, not dealing merely in generalities, but giving all the material facts, although, necessarily, not the engineering details, for those had to be worked out later. It evidently favored the through inland route direct from the Hudson by way of the Mohawk, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, the Seneca River and thence overland to Lake Erie, and it contains this prophetic statement: "Thus, it is evident that the canal will, if properly effected, turn to the United States the commerce of the upper lakes," meaning not merely the United States, but the State of New York. The report further adverts to the question whether the state shall bear the whole expense or whether the nation should share in it. As to this it is sufficient to say that the Federal Government was asked to aid in the construction of the Erie Canal later, but refused to do so, and that several attempts have since been made to secure national aid, but it has always been refused. The War of 1812 intervened after the making of this report and prevented active undertaking of steps looking to the construction of the canal. However, in 1816, the Legislature was besieged by petitions to take the matter up again and in February of that year a memorial of the citizens of New York was presented urging the construction of a canal direct from Lake Erie by the inland route, giving an estimated expenditure of two and one-half millions of dollars, and in April, 1816, an act was passed providing for the appointment of commissioners to devise and adopt such measures as may or shall be requisite to facilitate and affect the community, by means of canal and locks, between the waters of the Hudson and Lake Erie, and the navigable waters of Lake Champlain. By the first section of the bill DeWitt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Townsend M'Coun, Melancton Wheeler, Henry Seymour, Joseph Ellicott, Jacob Van Rensselaer, Philip I. Schuyler, Samuel Young, John Nicholas, William Bayard, George Huntington and Nathan Smith were appointed commissioners.

We have thus followed the evolution of the idea which resulted in the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals and I think it must be quite plain to the mind of any impartial man that no individual is entitled to the credit of the origination of our artificial waterways, but that that is due, as I have said, to geographic, topographic, geologic, political and commercial necessity and the peopling of a new country, impressing upon men from time to time the need of artificial waterways, followed by the exploration; investigations and thought of many minds crystalizing into the final consummation of the wisdom of building the canals as they were built.

The further evolution of the idea seen in the improvement of our canals depends upon the same factors and it is therefore necessary for me merely to state the facts in order to show the final working out of all the elements that went to produce the great results we see today.

INDUCED POPULATION.

The original Erie Canal was begun with great ceremony at Rome on the 4th of July, 1817, and it was practically completed on the 26th day of October, 1825. The completion was celebrated with

great pump by mingling the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Atlantic at New York City. It is no part of my undertaking to describe these well known celebrations. The original canal had a draft of about four feet of water, was about forty feet in width at the water surface and about twenty-eight feet in width at the bottom with locks ninety feet by twelve, and accommodated boats of about seventy tons. At first it was navigated by passenger boats, with handsome and comfortable accommodations, as well as freight boats. The commerce between the east and the west began to grow immediately and far exceeded the expectations of the early promoters even before the advent of the railroads. Immense numbers of immigrants passed to the west over the Erie Canal. Indeed, the beneficent effects that immediately followed the opening of the canal are past description and an enumeration of statistics would simply confuse the mind. I may, however, call attention to the facts heretofore stated of the great increase in population that followed in this state, particularly New York City, and in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and of the subsequent tremendous increase of population of the entire west; I would also call attention to the fact that while the population of this state was 959,049 in 1810, in 1830 it was 1,918,608, that is five years after the final completion of the canal, parts of which had been in actual use for some years before, the population of this state had been increased nearly one million. The population of the City of New York about 1817 was one hundred thousand and in 1830 it had arisen to over two hundred thousand.

Following the development of the canal there are some facts which are interesting to note, but the details are either so well known to this audience or will be so covered by subsequent papers, that I shall confine myself to a bare statement of those which indicate the further development of the idea of necessity for water communication between the Hudson and the Great Lakes and between the Hudson and Lake Champlain.

The great success of the canals as factors in commerce, furnishing cheap transportation until years after the commencement of the railroads and the effect of the improvement of the latter and the construction of trunk lines north and south of the State of New York, may be illustrated by reference to the construction of others than the main arteries and the commerce of the Erie.

"THE WESTERN CANAL."

The Erie was first known as the "Western" Canal but, on account of its terminus at Lake Erie, it came to be known as the Erie Canal. The Champlain Canal was constructed under the original act, but the Oswego and other laterals were not. Steps were taken in 1819 looking to the construction of the Oswego Canal and after various vicissitudes it was opened in 1829. The Oswego Canal is one of the most important of our canal system.

The Cayuga and Seneca Canal was first agitated in 1813 to furnish water transportation from the south, and various companies were organized to construct locks and make connection with the Chemung River. In 1824 steps were taken to connect this water system with

the Erie Canal and after various expenditures of private capital the state completed the necessary locks, channels and connecting canals, making enlargements. The construction of the Black River Canal may be said to have first taken form through agitation in 1825, and after various legislative enactments and appropriations that waterway was finally completed.

The four canals, the Erie, Champlain, Oswego, Cayuga and Seneca and Black River have always been regarded as the canal system of this state and as such have been protected by the Constitution from sale, lease or other disposal.

INDUCED OTHER CANALS.

The construction of these canals caused agitation for further artificial waterways, the idea of which may be said, generally, to have been to connect the important arteries with the rivers and other waterways of Pennsylvania. Thus the Genesee Valley Canal was to connect the Erie with the Allegheny, the projectors having in view their connection with the Ohio. Governor DeWitt Clinton in February, 1825, sent a communication to the Legislature recommending a full investigation of this proposed waterway and in 1836 an act was passed for the construction of a navigable canal, to be known as the Genesee Valley Canal, from the Erie in Rochester through the valley of the Genesee River to near Mt. Morris, and thence by the most eligible route to the Allegheny River at or near Olean. The possibility of the Chemung Canal was the subject of consideration in the latter part of the eighteenth century and after the incorporation of the Lock Navigation Companies and the expenditure of private moneys in the attempt to secure a waterway for connection with the Erie and the Chemung, the canal was finally constructed with the view to reaching the rich coal fields and extensive lumber districts of Pennsylvania. The Chenango Canal and its extension first took the form of a proposition for a canal through the Chenango Valley in 1814, to connect the Erie Canal with the Susquehanna River and with the Pennsylvania canals, and in 1833 an act was passed for its construction at Binghamton up the valley of the Chenango to its headwaters, and thence to the Erie Canal. This waterway was practically completed in 1836. In 1838 a survey from the termination of the canal at Binghamton along the valley of the Susquehanna to the state line near Tioga, thence to connect with a Pennsylvania canal was ordered by the Legislature, and subsequently a company was incorporated to build an extension which finally came under state control and was completed.

Other short canals, such as the Crooked Lake, the Glens Falls feeder and the Shinnecock have been constructed, but the Chemung, Chenango and Genesee Valley were abandoned by the state for the reason that the traffic upon them became so small after the advent of the railroads and the expense of maintenance and operation so great, that their continuance as a means of transportation was thought to be neither necessary nor wise. However, the Shinnecock Canal connecting Great Peconic and Shinnecock bays, near the eastern end of Long Island, still remains and it is hoped that it will be improved in the near future and connect with a canal route on the southern side

of Lake Erie, which will make interior communication between Long Island Sound, via the south side of Long Island, available for barge canal boats.

The history of each of these canals, the rise and decadence of their traffic, would fill volumes, and I must therefore confine myself, as I have stated, to a short review of what has occurred on the Erie.

THE ERIE CANAL'S SUCCESS.

The success of the Erie Canal as a promoter of the commerce and manufactures of the state and the great west, and its effect as a means of rapidly increasing the population of those parts of our country, is apparent when we consider the comparatively inaccessible condition of the western part of our state and of the northwest and middle west, together with sparse population and the great cost of transportation of persons and property before and after the canal came into existence. I have already stated the facts existing before the canal was constructed, as showing how the necessity of existing conditions originated and developed the idea of providing a main artery between the Hudson and Lake Erie and I have already given the figures showing the impetus that that construction gave to the populating of our state and of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and the development of their farms and industries. It only remains to advert to the growth of traffic as an index of the beneficial effects of the Erie Canal. To go farther than this would be too great an undertaking for this short paper. From nothing the tonnage passing over the Erie Canal reached high water mark, very nearly 6,500,000 tons, in 1879, notwithstanding the active competition of the railroads. So great a movement of articles transported by water, when it is considered that the construction of the Erie had built up cities, towns and villages throughout the state, had encouraged the construction of canals in Ohio and Pennsylvania, with like results in those states, and had made possible the construction of thousands of miles of railroads connecting the Atlantic coast with the great west, and of railroads running north and south, the railways carrying east and west, north and south many million more tons of freight and hundreds of thousands of passengers, makes it apparent that the Erie Canal was the prime factor in starting, and hastening the building up of the commerce and industries, and the populating, not only of the State of New York, but of the great middle west, the northwest, the south and eventually the southwest of the United States. The benefit to our country at large was immeasurable. I may add that the Erie Canal not only accomplished all this but it originated and has maintained the pre-eminence of the State of New York in commerce and manufactures, in population, wealth and prosperity at all times.

CHANGES IN SENTIMENT.

It is well to note that the physical and social conditions which lead the minds of men to the idea of constructing artificial waterways, sometimes, in the process of evolution, become antagonistic. This is illustrated in the case of the abandoned laterals. The physical conditions remained the same, but the social conditions and ease and

cheapness of transportation by rail became entirely different and prevailed over the opportunities offered by the various rivers, small lakes and valleys. It is also well to note that changes of this character, continually going on, not infrequently bring all the conditions into unison again and impress upon men the wisdom of returning to old paths of commerce. This is illustrated very clearly by the movement now being agitated for the construction of a waterway on the south side of Long Island connecting with the Sound by rehabilitation of the Shinnecock Canal and the construction of a canal from Flushing Bay on the north of the Island to Jamaica Bay on the south; the improvement of the Glens Falls feeder, and in the case of the Black River Canal, its improvement and the improvement of the Black River in connection with it. I may add also the rehabilitation of a portion of the Chemung route and negotiations which have been had with a view to the improvement of the Susquehanna by Pennsylvania, so as to reach the coal regions of that state. I can not devote the time or space to discuss in this paper the various causes of these changes of public sentiment and must confine myself to the statement, which can be verified, that they will facilitate water transportation over the main system of canals and cheapen the carriage of freights accordingly. The Chemung improvement will certainly also facilitate and cheapen the transportation of that most important product of the mines, coal, together with its distribution to the people of this state and to the people of the west.

Realizing that the process of evolution to which I have been addressing myself is dependent upon forces which are continually at work, I feel that this paper would not be complete without a sketch of the improvement of our canals which has taken place and is now going on, for they are the results of what has gone before.

THE COMING OF RAILROADS.

The coming of the railroads in the early thirties of the last century had no effect upon the usefulness of the canals or the necessity of maintaining and operating them, but as railroad improvement increased and ten-ton freight cars were replaced by those that would carry from twenty to even fifty tons, drawn by coal-burning locomotives of tremendous weight and power over heavy steel rails resting on well and carefully constructed roadbeds and modern bridges and viaducts, the cost of transportation by rail, with the superior terminal facilities of the railroads, placed our canals in the position of being feeble factors in transportation. In addition to this the great trunk lines combined and by differential rates, intended to give the lines terminating at Atlantic ports equality in securing freight, began the process of crushing out competition by the canals of this state in connection with the Great Lakes.

CANALS PAID FOR THEMSELVES.

Prior to the great improvements of railroads, however, the tremendous increase of commerce between the east and the west made it imperative that our main canals should be improved. Passing by legislation for particular improvements on the Champlain, Erie,

Oswego and other canals, made from time to time, a glance at the efforts to place our main canal arteries at first in a condition to properly accommodate the growing commerce, and afterwards to put them on a par with the railroads, will suffice to illustrate the continuance of the evolution. Before doing this we may take notice of the fact that by constitutional amendment (Article 7, Section 9), in 1882, tolls were abolished. This step in the direction of making our canals efficient shows that the prior improvements (which will be spoken of hereafter) had not accomplished the desired result. We may also note here that it appears from the report of a Legislative Commission, referring to a report made by the auditor of the Canal Department for 1875, that the revenue of the Erie, Champlain and Oswego canals, after deducting all costs for construction, repairs and maintenance with interest thereon, at 6 per cent., was \$63,000,000; that is, the report shows that the revenues from the main arteries had brought a great net profit to the state in dollars and cents, as well as caring for all losses upon the canals which were finally abandoned.

ENLARGEMENTS.

For the reasons above stated and the necessity of complying with the demands of commerce, the first step towards increasing the capacity of the Erie Canal was taken in 1834. This step was the construction of double locks to expedite the passage of boats. The idea was not a new one, it having been discussed as early as 1825, but it first took form in 1834 through a report of the canal commissioners. The final result of the agitation which followed was the passage on May 11, 1835, of a law which authorized the canal commissioners to enlarge the Erie Canal and construct a double set of lift locks as soon as the Canal Board believed that the public interest required the improvement. Under this act locks were rebuilt, some were doubled and an enlargement, with some changes of location, begun, together with other improvements of the prism. This method of procedure continued, with interruptions, until 1862, when the Legislature by law put an end to the almost haphazard improvement, by declaring the first enlargement officially completed. The work of enlargement thereafter went on by fits and starts but was not called enlargement or improvement; what was done towards perfecting the construction previously accomplished coming under the head of maintenance and repairs and comparatively small special appropriations. This improvement gave us, nominally, a canal seven feet deep, 55.5 feet wide on the bottom and 70 feet wide on the surface of the water with locks 100 feet by 18, having a capacity for the passage of boats carrying two hundred and forty tons of freight.

THE NINE MILLIONS.

The great increase in traffic between the East and the West, the tremendous enlargement of the carrying capacity of the railroads at very low rates and the combination between the trunk lines, as the years passed by attracted attention to the fact that the commerce of our State and particularly of our great port of New York, was in danger. This made clear the absolute necessity of improving our

canal system so that its competition with the railroads might operate as a regulator of their freight rates and continue the natural flow of commerce through the State from the West to the East and from the East to the West. Consideration was given to methods of improvement, such as the enlargement of the carrying capacity of boats through improvements in methods of navigation, some of the ideas advanced being what was called the Belgian Cable System (which turned out to be a failure) and the use of steam as the motive power instead of horses and mules. But it was quite clear that any means of increasing the ability of boats navigating the canals to save time and expense were entirely inadequate to meet the exigencies of the case, and the attention of those who believed in the regulating effect of our canals as well as their importance as active factors in transportation, was directed to enlargement of prism capacity. About the first fruit of this was what is called the Seymour plan, which was to deepen the canal by raising the banks and lowering the bottom so that a depth of water of nine feet would be attained. Serious and long agitation followed until sufficiently strong public sentiment had been aroused, when the plan, in 1895, for deepening and improving the Erie Canal so that it would have a depth of nine feet was adopted by the Legislature and ratified by the people. The amount asked and authorized for this work was nine millions of dollars, but unfortunately the estimates of the state engineer, from which this amount was fixed, had been cut down, so that only one-half of the sum necessary was provided. Work proceeded, however, until the money was exhausted. In spite of grafting on the part of subordinates of the state officials and of ignorance and insufficient preparation, between one-half and two-thirds of the work was done and quite well done. The failure to accomplish the improvement with the moneys provided by law and sanctioned by the people and charges of fraud and speculation caused the appointment of a commission to investigate, and the stoppage of all further work. The plan was never carried out.

After the stoppage of work upon the enlargement last described, agitation for improvement of the canals continued. Railroad competition and discrimination continued to undermine the commerce of the state and threaten disaster to the port of New York. In addition to this an agency extremely injurious to our prosperity had become more active. This had for some years been having a considerable effect upon the commerce between the Great Lakes and the port of New York, but its effects were becoming more and more apparent. I refer to one of the elements of evolution to which I have heretofore spoken in connection with the early history of the origination of our canal system. It will be remembered that Cadwalader D. Colden in his report to Governor Burnet speaks of the necessity of having waterway connections with the Great Lakes, so as to intercept or prevent trade going to the St. Lawrence, and that Mr. Geddes in his report to Simeon DeWitt, surveyor general, in 1808, states that one of the arguments against a ship canal around the Falls is that it would open up an avenue of trade between the west and Montreal. That this factor was the real and threatening one, foreseen by the men of the early days, has been proved by the construc-

tion of the Welland Canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario through the Canadian peninsula and by the construction of canals around the rapids of the St. Lawrence. These canals the Canadian government had improved and enlarged and the trade between Montreal and the west had grown and was growing greatly, thus threatening great injury, if not destruction, of the flow of commerce through the State of New York.

THE BARGE CANAL.

The agitation for further improvement of our canals became so pressing and public sentiment for it so strong that Governor Roosevelt in 1899 appointed a commission which examined into the advisability of improving the canals and reported in favor thereof, and providing for a depth of twelve feet of water in the prism. This was followed by a reference of the entire matter to the state engineer and surveyor with engineer counsel, the result being a report upon all existing conditions and suggesting different routes for the Erie, with changes in the Champlain, giving estimates of cost. In 1903 the Legislature passed an act referring to the people the question of incurring an indebtedness of one hundred and one millions of dollars to be applied to the proposed improvement. The indebtedness was authorized by the people in the same year. The act provided for a change in the route of the Erie, back to the one originally outlined in the report of Colden made in 1724, the one which had been followed prior to the construction of the Erie Canal by those trading with bateaux, as far as Lake Ontario. The route finally adopted proceeds from the Hudson at Waterford up the Mohawk, through a canal connecting that river with Oneida Lake, thence down the lake and through Oneida River, improved, to Three Rivers Point, thence on the Oswego to Lake Ontario and by the Seneca and Clyde Rivers to a point near to and west of Clyde, thence overland practically on the line of the Erie Canal to the Niagara River at Tonawanda, the Erie Canal from Tonawanda to Buffalo being preserved. The act of 1903 included the Champlain and Oswego Canals. The capacity of all the canals mentioned was increased by furnishing a depth of twelve feet, a bottom of seventy-five feet in the prism and two hundred feet in wide waters. The locks as finally provided for being three hundred and twenty-eight feet long and forty-five feet wide, with a depth of twelve feet over the miter sills. Subsequently the people ratified an appropriation of seven millions of dollars for the improvement of the Cayuga and Seneca Canal to give it the same dimensions and capacity as the other improved canals. The work of improvement has progressed slowly since the passage of the act of 1903, but it is expected that it will be completed in May, 1918. The improved canals, now known as the Barge Canal system, will increase the size of boats that can navigate it to a tonnage capacity of at least five times that of the existing canal, namely, from 240 tons to 1,500 tons.

THE TERMINALS.

The competition of the railroads disclosed and emphasized the fact that in any system of transportation proper terminals had become a vital necessity, and it was also apparent that the improved canals

could not perform the duty expected without such terminals. In 1911, therefore, the Legislature submitted to the people an act providing for an indebtedness of \$19,800,000 to construct proper public canal terminals for the receipt, delivery and protection of freight cheaply. The indebtedness being ratified, the work has proceeded and terminals where needed will have been constructed by the time the Barge Canal system is opened, or not long thereafter.

Discrimination against the waterways by the railroads in the past through refusal to interchange traffic upon a just basis and in other ways, and the actual use of the canals by them to the great detriment of their use by individuals and independent corporations, had made plain in years past the necessity of compelling the railroads to perform their public duty with relation to the waterways without discrimination, and the advocates of canal transportation, with the assistance of the chambers of commerce throughout the state, procured the passage in 1917 of a law, based upon the Interstate Commerce Act and the Panama Canal Act, which will prevent the railroads discriminating, compel them to interchange traffic with the canals on a just basis and made it impossible for them to control commerce on the canals directly or indirectly. This is done by prohibitions, mandates and by giving the Public Service Commission jurisdiction and ample powers. At the same time the act does not place any additional burdens upon those using the canals in transportation.

I believe that I have now clearly shown that the construction of our canals originally, and their improvement, and the abandonment of some, have been the result of natural causes operating through the years in a process of evolution, and that to give any single man, or set of men, credit for origination is to fly in the face of the facts and to contradict the unchangeable law of nature, of economics and of society, which have been in existence and working out the welfare of mankind for ages. If I have accomplished this I shall have not only added something to history, but to a clear conception of the fact that there is an over-ruling Power that guides our destinies through laws that always operate in the same way and for the benefit of mankind.

In closing, I would say that it would please me greatly, had I the time and space to mention the names of those in the past and the present who are entitled to be recognized as having done great work for the promotion of the prosperity of the people of our state through the creation and improvement of our waterways, the construction of canal terminals and the prevention of discrimination by the railroads, but to do so would involve danger, through failure of memory or lack of information, of omitting the names of many men who have taken part in this great work. However, if I may repeat the language of Judge Jonas Platt, "As to the merit of the first design of a canal, directly from Lake Erie to the Hudson, it belongs in my opinion, exclusively to no person. It was gradually developed to the minds of many who were early acquainted with the geography and topography of the western region of this state," and add to it the words of DeWitt Clinton; "For the good which has been done by individuals or communities, in relation to this work, let each have an equal share of credit."



FRANK M. HOLLISTER

BY CHARLES P. NORTON

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BY CHARLES P. NORTON.¹

One day in the year 1871 or 1872, Carleton Sprague and I, then boys of thirteen or fourteen years of age, and great chums, walked into the Young Men's Association Library. Those of you who remember the Y. M. A. Library standing on the present site of the Iroquois Hotel, remember the round,cooped-in librarian's desk with the little case by its side containing the stock of the Library's magazines. Standing at this case and running rather discontentedly over the magazines, stood a young man whom I can describe by no other word than beautiful. He was neither of slight nor heavy build, and of a body well proportioned, athletic, and vigorous. His features were masculine, and delicately and clearly cut. His head suggested to me the marble head of the Young Augustus, and he carried it with a poise of much grace and dignity. Though I did not come to know him well until nearly fifteen years afterward, I at once gave this beautiful young man the quick born adoration of boyhood, and I whispered to Carleton Sprague, "Who is this man?" and he replied, "Frank Hollister, who has come back to Buffalo to live, and has gone on the *Express*. Isn't he good looking!"

I do not think this composed young man of thirty even noticed those two lads who were whispering about him and staring at him with such hearty admiration. I do not think he ever gave a thought to the fact, even if he knew it, that his face was a passport to the good will of strangers. I came to know it well in later years, and to know that one of the many reasons that made Mr. Hollister attractive to men was that his face was an open book, where all men might read the qualities they best love to find—strength,

1. Paper read before the Saturn Club of Buffalo.

honesty, intelligence, and genial, cordial companionableness. It was a thoughtful face in repose; in conversation it lighted up with fun, or with earnestness. It was at all times intellectual and keen. It reflected his extraordinary placidity and evenness of temper. I have been on a fishing excursion with Mr. Hollister and his son Evan on Lake Ontario, when the thermometer stood at 100 in the shade; the mosquitoes 1,000; the eggs we had brought along to eat were fit company only for a setting hen; the chickens long past the time when even a storage warehouse man would have sold them; and finally Mr. Hollister had managed to get a fish bone in his throat from the one demented black bass we had succeeded in catching. Yet he never for a moment lost his temper, nor did his face express even annoyance. I remember that at stated intervals Evan Hollister kept pouring pails of water over me to keep me cool, and I wanted Sir Isaac Walton's works burned by the common hangman.

I did not come to know Mr. Hollister well until sometime in 1887 or 1888, and he was in middle life. He was born in Buffalo November 28, 1843, and in his boyhood lived in what most of us knew as President Fillmore's house on Niagara Square, now the Castle Inn. His own recollections of his early life are stated with the quiet humor than ran throughout his writings and conversation. "Historic times," he says in his paper on "Early Buffalo Characters," "really dawned on my own personal consciousness with the narrow escape I had from being killed by an enraged sow on Delaware Avenue near Mohawk Street. In those days swine and cattle were allowed to roam for forage in the streets of this as of other American cities, greatly to the disgust of Mrs. Trollope, Charles Dickens, and other fastidious travelers. Misconstruing my attempt to pet one of her progeny, the animal charged with fury, bowled me over, and I have always understood that I was saved from

the ignominious fate of being reduced to sausage meat then and there by the timely interposition of a chance passerby. Strangely enough, this gruesome incident, vividly stamped on my memory, has never impaired in the slightest degree my lifelong fondness for pigs, more especially I should say in the sublimated form of spare-ribs, bacon, and sausages."

As a boy he first went to the Buffalo public schools, but prepared for Harvard College at the Sanborn School at Concord, Massachusetts.

In a paper delivered by him before the Thursday Club in 1913, and entitled "Concord and Concord People," he gave intimations of his delightful life there. The paper in the main is devoted to describing with a loving and sympathetic pen the characteristics of Concord itself and the worthies whom he had seen at Concord—Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Ellery Channing, Bronson Alcott, and the brothers Hoar. But he gives a glimpse of his own life, too.

May I be pardoned [he says], for dwelling a moment on this happy experience. It has been said there never was and there never will be such a genial Concord, for young people at least, as that which existed from 1859 to 1865. . . . Among the pupils at that school (meaning the one he attended) were Edward and Edith Emerson, Sam Hoar, and Rose Hawthorne. All that I recall of Mr. Emerson was his beautiful smile as he came in to see the young people when we were invited to small parties at his house. It was either at the Emerson house, or at Mrs. Cheney's that a number of pupils performed a wonderful representation of the "Babes in the Wood," Mr. Sanborn, six feet six inches tall, being "First Robin." Perhaps the most vivid of my recollections of those school days at Concord is the grim round head figure of John Brown on the platform of the Town Hall, telling the story of his fights with the border ruffians and the death of his son. I don't remember what the collection amounted to on that occasion, but the old hero got all the money and nearly all the jewelry there was in the hall.

And Mr. Hollister closes this paper with the characteristic comment on Mr. Sanborn, his old teacher, who was a red-hot abolitionist and supporter of John Brown: "As I met him at Harvard Commencement last June, I presume he still lives and thrives in his natural element which may

been to the world when the *Tattler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian* began to gossip about the political and literary disputes, the fine gentlemen and ladies, the characters of men, the humors of society, the new book and the new play, of the days of Queen Anne. The austerities of Bacon's essays were replaced with the fine and tender humor of Addison and Steele, that was never bitter. Oh that the devotees of Doucet of 1917 would read the gentle satire of Paper No. 100 of the *Guardian* on the tucker, and the consequent papers on the short skirt! And there are other papers, too. It is one of the many literary crimes of that dictator of the Georges, the great Dr. Samuel Johnson, that the ponderous style of the *Rambler* and *Idler* set a standard of literary taste which deprived the approved style of his day of all the lightness and grace of the *Tattler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian*, and the *Freeholder*. The good Doctor had, no doubt, the best intentions. He certainly had a hearty belief in the grandeur of his own literary style, but nevertheless he does remind one of one of the fables of G. Washington Aesop, which were famous in the '70's, and which I saw quoted in "Table Talk" a great many years ago:

"A kind-hearted she elephant, while walking through the jungle where the spicy breezes blew soft o'er Ceylon's Isle, haplessly set foot upon a partridge, which she crushed to death within a few inches of the nest containing its callow brood. 'The poor little thing!' said the generous mammoth. 'I have been a mother myself, and my affection shall atone for the fatal consequences of my neglect.' So saying, she sat down upon the orphan birds." G. Washington Aesop then continues, perhaps irrelevantly, I admit: "The above teaches us what home is without a mother; also, that it is not every person who should be entrusted with the care of an orphan asylum."

But whether or not the moral of G. Washington Aesop is irrelevant, the fact is that the elephantine Dr. Johnson, with his Rasselasian style did smash flat the charming grace of Addison and Steele, so that when the wonderful "Essays of Elia" appeared, Charles Lamb had difficulty in obtaining recognition as anything other than a flippant, light-minded person. The literary world was too much like *Miss Deborah Jenkins* in "Cranford," who adored Dr. Johnson, and despised the "Pickwick Papers."

Mr. Hollister's work in "Table Talk" was a modernized newspaperized, condensed, impersonal *Spectator*, of laconic, pithy comment, funny stories, charming verses—and it was so pleasant! It is a great regret that I have been unable to weave extracts from it into this part of this paper, bearing upon Mr. Hollister's literary side. The most of Mr. Hollister's identified writings are Thursday Club papers, and these cover a wide variety of subjects. He wrote of Anthony Trollope, Samuel Pepys, Napoleon III, Charles James Fox, Napoleon Bonaparte, Francis Jeffrey, and Cecil John Rhodes. He wrote of the effect of socialism on family relationship, and of the dangers of the aggregation of wealth. He wrote of the anti-Semetic mania, and how we should govern our colonies. Some of these papers I have heard, some I have read, and so far as my acquaintance with them goes, I have been struck with how much his newspaper training aided in making effective his treatment of the subject he had in hand. Whatever else may be said of newspapers as literature, one thing must be admitted, and that is, they never sidetrack the attention or interest of the reader with words. Newspaper men from the cub reporter to the chief, are trained to get the marrow of the matter before their readers, and they do it. This to me is a salient characteristic of the papers of Mr. Hollister which I have read.

Another is his evident culture. He was like Charles Lamb in some things. He loved books. They really educated him. He had the same gentle humor. And in these Thursday Club papers you find the newspaper man's capacity for setting forth in a plain, convincing way, all there was worth having on the subject chosen, with the most highly developed, cultured taste, and illuminated with the most subtle, charming, refined humor that never blunted its force or debased its elevated thought. I have often thought that had he gone into literature professionally he would have stood side by side with Tarkington, Martin, Crothers, Ade, Dunne, Field, Howells, and the glorious company of the immortals of this generation that have made American humor famous.

I am sorry that the time allotted to this paper does not give scope for mention of other sides of his character which we all knew. None knew better than I of his work in the University of Buffalo—his fearlessness, his fair-mindedness, and his faithfulness in the performance of whatever work or duty his hand found to do, and all his work interwoven with the same gentle humor. I remember once, wearing a necktie as red as any British uniform, and going out with Mr. Hollister one seventeenth of March with him to beg for subscriptions for the University. We tramped, tramped, tramped all day, and never got a cent. When sitting down despondent, I moaned: "What can be the reason for such luck?" He was very tired, but he looked up with the same old cheery smile, and said: "It is St. Patrick working against your cravat." I am sorry there is not time to tell you of that part of his life which was devoted to the service of the public. He took an active part in the affairs of the Historical Society, of the Educational Union, of the Buffalo Library, of the Fine Arts Academy, of the Saturn Club, of the Thursday Club, of the University Club, of the Unitarian Church, of the Harvard

Club, and so on. In all of these he was conspicuous for good counsel.

But I do want, in closing, to recall to you a picture of his home life which so many of us knew, and which he and we loved so well. I love best to think of it in winter, when we all sat in a circle in the back parlor, and the snow and the cold and the wind were outside. Ah! those were *noctes ambrosianae*. How the talk ranged! Books, men, events, anecdotes, politics, sport—honest, hearty, kindly laughter, talk from which all evil thinking slunk, and where was only charity and gentleness. And always someone would say, "Let's read something," and that he loved above all else. I can shut my eyes and see it now. He would go to the easy leather chair by the round table on the side of the room, and putting on his glasses, begin with that rich, cordial voice of his (I am going to read you what he read to me fifteen years ago, at the time of the Clarence Howard silver wedding):

"Phwat's the distoorbance about at the Howards', this night?" said Mr. Hennessey, laying down the evening paper.

"The Clarence O'Howards'?" Mr. Dooley inquired.

"The same," said Mr. Hennessey.

"Well now, 'tis queer about that," said Mr. Dooley. "Did ye iver hear of the Woman's Exchange, Hinnissey? No? Well, 'tis strange. Ye musht hear somet'ing—and it's as common as candidates in many places. In New York, Chicago, and South Dakoty, the most lucrative department of the legal profession, Hinnissey, is the Woman's Exchange. 'Tis a favorite, I'm towld, wid the great lawyers and judges. And this is the way it works: Whin a gentleman tires of his wife—as he naturally does in a few years, for she soon fades while he grows wiser and better and handsomer all the time—he just goes to the Woman's Exchange, pays the lawyer and the judge the regular price, and gets another wan. 'Tis a grand system, Hinnissey."

"It looks aisy," said Mr. Hennessey. "But do they give a man much of a ch'ice?"

"They 'ee always a fine assortment on hand, I'm towld," said Mr. Dooley. "Luk around and suit yer fancy," says the custogian, or counsel for the offinse, politely. 'Av ye don't see pwhat ye want,' he says, 'ask for it,' says he. 'These is all first-class, bon-ton, matrimonial misfits,' he says; 'but 'tis hard lines if they don't fit annybody,' says he. 'Cheer up,' he says, 'the worst is yet to come. Change partners; he calls off—like the coon at the San Saucy Sociable, d'ye

mind, Hinnissey?—and, be jaggars, they do change, while ye wait, as ye may say.”

“‘Isn’t it agin the law?’” asked Mr. Hennessey.

“‘It is—agin some kinds of law,’” said Mr. Dooley. “‘Says Father Kelley to me, only last week, ‘Behowld,’ he says, ‘pwhat’s the howly state of matrimony coming to?’ he says. ‘Oh trumperry! Oh Morris!’ he says. But in Buffalo, Hinnissey, ’tis different. In Buffalo they’re so far behind the metropolitan styles, in spite of their asphalt and their Pan-American Exposition, that Woman’s Exchange is not known there. They have nothing, I’m towld, Hinnissey, nearer to ut than Dr. Linn’s Anatomical Museum, and that’s wax, and not the real t’ing. Naw, sor, the min in Buffalo are that hopeless and old-fashioned, Hinnissey, that whin one of thim is caught and married, that’s the ind of him. They’s no exchange and no discharge fur him in this wourld. He just lies down, Hinnissey, I’m towld, and hugs his chains. He t’inks he’s livin’ in Paradise Row, mind ye, and ye can’t pry the crool delusion out of his thick head with a crow-bar. He’s that domesticated, Hinnissey, ’tis a shstudy for his wife to get him away from the premises while they’re clanin’ house.’”

“‘Haven’t they anny clubs in Buffalo?’” asked Mr. Hennessey.

“‘Clubs?’” said Mr. Dooley. “‘Ye can’t club the min to the clubs in Buffalo. They’s a Woman’s Club that does a good business, but frequenting a min’s club, Hinnissey, is next dure to solitary confinement. It is so. Ah! the married women in Buffalo have much to answer fur in the matter of breaking up happy club-life in that town, so they tell me. A few of the ould settlers do gather at their club of a Saturday night, now and thin, drawn be the magnet of a free lunch, but ’tis a sad sight, Hinnissey, to see thim pretending to be gay and so divilish tough. It is so.”

“‘And so,’” continued Mr. Dooley. “‘the poor fellys go on, year after year, living contintedly—wud ye belave it, Hinnissey? wid wan wife, *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*, as Casey’s girl wud say. And whin this praypoetherous billin’ and cooin’ has lasted twenty-five years, all the fri’nds and neighbors are invited in to help celebrate the event—as if ’twas something to be proud and happy about. Like winning a fight agin odds for mimber of the Legislature. Shure a hin wid wan chicken, Hinnissey, is a picture av humility and discouragement be the side av a Buffalo man wid wan wife—and her the same wan.’”

“‘But pwhat’s all this to do wid the trouble at the Howards’ to-night,’” asked Mr. Hennessey, recalling the text.

“‘Why, man, ’tis wan of these exhibitions of middle-aged turtle-doves that the O’Howards is givin’ this evening, wid the aid an’ connivance of their fri’ns. The tiehcnical name fur it is the ‘Silver Wedding.’ Kape clear of ut, Hinnissey. ’Tis a sickening sight fur self-respectin’ bachelors like us.’”

“‘Fur me own part,’” said Mr. Hennessey, somewhat puzzled, and scanning Mr. Dooley’s stern countenance with suspicion, “‘I ’tink ye like the Buffalo style, yerself, better nor the New York and Chicago—the ‘Silver Wedding,’ a good deal better nor the Woman’s Exchange, fur all yer palaverin.’”

“‘Hinnissey,’” said Mr. Dooley, slowly closing one eye—“‘ye’re a wizzard!’”

So, with his old sayings and half-forgotten things, I have tried to evoke our friend from the past. It has been a pleasant task. As I look back, there come the echoes of dead laughter along the paths of memory; the thoughts of many a chat in the soft warm darkness of summer nights; of many a winter evening passed by his fireside; of idle hours spent in travel and in vacation. He used to call me "that middle-aged young bachelor," and these kinetoscopic figures of the drama of the past days move past with the vigor and the ardor, and the joy of living, of the morning and the springtime. It is as though men and women could never become old and tired; as though Charles Lamb never could have sung his song:

"I have had friends, I have had companions,
In my days of childhood, in my joyful school days.
All, all are gone, the old familiar faces."

Gone before, perhaps, but not gone; for nothing can kill the sweetness and the joy of old and pleasant memories while human beings can remember. There may be a tinge of sadness in our sincerest laughter, but it is none the less sweet for all that.

I hope this half hour has brought back to you also such pleasant recollections of some of the many sides of Mr. Hollister's nature. His character touched those of so many different kinds of men and women. "The great wits I have conversed with," said Mr. Addison, "are men eminent for their humanity." And humanity is as good a word as any other for the different qualities we all saw and loved in him. His humanity manifested itself in sympathy, in understanding, in responsiveness, in making bountiful return to the affection brought by others to him. It manifested itself, too, in the humanity that Addison referred to. "Mr. Hollister," said Mr. Louis L. Babcock in his remarks made in the Council of the University of Buffalo at the time of Mr. Hollister's death, "was one of that line of men such as

Orsamus H. Marshall, E. Carleton Sprague, and James O. Putnam, who have kept alive the true spirit of culture here." His was indeed true culture—not the Pharisaic ostentation of the cult of books, but that culture which is true education, and which draws forth manhood by contact with the best minds, until it has broadened to something of the breadth of humanity.

What his friends saw of this was that he was a strong and faithful friend; a simple, unaffected, courteous, charming gentleman; a clear-headed thinker; an inspiring talker upon the more serious subjects of thought. And while he and you and I have laughed together at the things we used to laugh at in the good old days, perhaps you have thought pleasantly of these other phases of his personality which I have not dwelt upon, of these wholesome, ennobling characteristics of a wise, good, strong man.

OUR NEIGHBORS
THE TUSCARORAS

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

OUR TUSCARORA NEIGHBORS

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

In the summer of 1915 I was invited to speak at the annual picnic on the Tuscarora Reservation. I was met at the Suspension Bridge station by a committee from the reservation and after a drive of a few miles through a well-farmed region was set down in a fine grove of old maples. Many people were there, perhaps as many whites as Indians, and the road was crowded with buggies, farm wagons and motor-cars. The somewhat renowned Tuscarora brass band was playing, on a platform. A row of booths—"hot dog" stands, amusement outfits, and vendors of fans, ice cream, etc.,—drew crowds; and by the time the president of the day was ready to introduce me for the talk, a baseball game was called in a neighboring field. It is a misguided speaker who would compete with a baseball game, on a pleasant summer holiday. However, there gathered on the plank seats in front of the platform a few hundred auditors; and I was much interested in noting the wrinkled, kindly countenances of the old folks, whose memories reached back to more primitive days on this reservation. But for their presence and courteous attention I should have hesitated to speak on a theme of such limited appeal, as history.

Thus it was with genuine gratitude that I tried to thank them for their friendly welcome, for it was indeed a privilege to meet with them. Could I have commanded the beautiful, figurative, strongly-expressive language of the old times, I might have symbolized the cordiality of their greeting by saying that they had swept the path clean between our lodges; that after my journey they had drawn the thorns from my feet, and bathed them, and given me soup; and that now the fire burned clear and we smoked the peace-pipe together. Instead of that, I told them, I

had come to them part of the way by train, they had met me with an automobile, and welcomed me with a brass band. "My word to you," I said, "is chiefly one of greeting. We are neighbors, and on this your holiday you have invited me as a neighbor, to share your pleasures. Like most of your neighbors in Western New York, I have long known something of you, and wish for a better acquaintance," and I went on to recall how, years ago, on the occasion when I was adopted by the Senecas, that it was Mrs. Mountpleasant—known among the whites as "Queen of the Tuscaroras"—who pinned an ancient silver brooch on my coat, and otherwise shared in the ceremony of adoption; she herself, though married to a distinguished Tuscarora, being a daughter of a long-prominent Seneca family.¹

It has often happened—more often than not, perhaps, in recent years—that the white speaker at these annual gatherings of the Tuscaroras, has been some prominent man of Western New York who spoke to them of farming or patriotism or politics. In trying to speak to these people of their own history I explained that my business was not farming, or politics; that my business—at least a part of it—was to study the records of the past and put them in order for others to study. Then I went on and sketched as well as conditions allowed, the story of the Tuscaroras.

It was not, I am sure, a very adequate review that I made; but the occasion awakened an interest in the subject which has led me into some further study; so that what here follows is not so much the address given in the maple grove on a hot summer afternoon, as it is a fragmentary record of Tuscarora history as I have found it in scattered but authentic documents.

Like most Indian records, it begins in the middle. No book, no writer, preserves for us the beginning chapters of the Indians' history. Their traditions for the most part

1. She was sister of Gen. Ely S. Parker, of Gen. Grant's staff in the Civil War.

are of a fantastic sort which cannot be correlated with facts which begin as definite records with the coming of Columbus. As regards the Tuscaroras, we know that in 1708 they lived in North Carolina, whither they are said to have gone from the North—from the land of the Iroquois, of which federation they had been a part. I do not know of any page in history, any document, that tells the story of their going.²

The story of their return can be told, in some measure. I attempt here only a contribution to the subject. Most writers who allude to it at all dismiss it by saying that the Tuscaroras returned to New York in 1715. They were indeed ninety years in coming back! Here is a true American odyssey, for the wanderings of Ulysses are surpassed by the experiences of these people, a handful of whose descendants are today our thrifty, progressive, self-respecting neighbors of the Tuscarora reservation.

When the first white settlers appeared in North Carolina they found certain settlements of Indians with characteristics different from the neighboring tribes. They were of Iroquoian stock, as we know them today, but no attempt is made to fix the date of their going into the South. Their villages were on the lower Neuse, the Trent, the Tar, the Pamlico and other streams—in general, they were scattered through the region south of the present Raleigh. There were at least fifteen Tuscarora towns, with a population, as given in 1711, of 4,000.

Now begins the familiar story. The white settlers appropriated their lands, kidnapped their children and sold them into slavery. Here is a fine theme for the Unpopular History of the United States!

Naturally enough, Tuscarora enmity was aroused; a conspiracy was formed, and massacres occurred. In the years

². There is a tradition that they went first to the Mississippi, then turned back, reaching North Carolina; but it is only tradition.

1711 to 1713 there were two outbreaks, which are spoken of as the two Tuscarora wars. The first "war" began with the capture of Lawson, surveyor-general of North Carolina, and of the Baron de Graffenried, by some 60 Tuscaroras. Lawson was given a trial before an Indian council and was put to death. This was in September, 1711. In the same month they, and several neighboring tribes, massacred about 130 of the whites. Colonel Barnwell came from South Carolina to help the suffering colonists, and drove the Tuscaroras into one of their palisaded towns about 20 miles from present Newbern. Here there was a battle, in which the Tuscaroras got the worst of it, so that they accepted terms of peace as offered by Barnwell—terms which, according to the Indians, he at once broke. Certain it is that some of the Tuscaroras, falling at this time into the hands of the whites, were sent away into slavery.

Under this new provocation, the Tuscaroras appealed to neighboring tribes, planning a wholesale attack on the whites; meanwhile the settlers again called on South Carolina, which colony sent Colonel James Moore with a body of militia and some 900 Indians who professed hostility to the Tuscaroras. These were in fact, by this time, a tribe at bay. Reduced in numbers, scattered, feeling that they had no friends, they had, even the year before, made appeals to neighboring governments, for some measure of justice.

The Tuscarora wars in North Carolina were brought on by the whites. Characterized by barbaric and cruel acts, as was to be expected in the warfare of an uncivilized folk, even their white enemies recognized that these wars were waged in defense of home and rights as the Indian knew them. The peace-loving, diligent Tuscarora farmers and fruit-growers of Niagara County today should be proud, and not ashamed, of their fighting forefathers of the Tuscarora wars.

Evidently looking to a removal from North Carolina, and a location in a less hostile neighborhood, the Tuscaroras in 1710—more than a year before the massacre—had sent an embassy to the Government of Pennsylvania. At Conestoga, June 8th, they were met by two white commissioners, and by Conestoga and Shawanese chiefs. The fugitive Tuscarora asked for a cessation of hostilities, and made overtures for peace which have been recorded as follows:

“By the first belt, the elder women and the mothers besought the friendship of the Christian people, the Indians and the Government of Pennsylvania, so they might fetch wood and water without risk or danger. By the second, the children born and those about to be born, implored for room to sport and play without the fear of death or slavery. By the third, the young men asked for the privilege to leave their towns without the fear of death or slavery to hunt for meat for their mothers, their children, and the aged ones. By the fourth, the old men, the elders of the people, asked for the consummation of a lasting peace, so that the forest (the paths to other tribes) be as safe for them as their palisaded towns. By the fifth, the entire tribe asked for a firm peace. By the sixth, the chiefs asked for the establishment of a lasting peace with the Government, people, and Indians of Pennsylvania, whereby they would be relieved from ‘those fearful apprehensions they have these several years felt.’ By the seventh, the Tuscarora begged for a ‘cessation from murdering and taking them,’ so that thereafter they would not fear ‘a mouse, or anything that ruffles the leaves.’ By the eighth, the tribe, being strangers to the people and Government of Pennsylvania, asked for an official path or means of communication between them.”³

From this time date the negotiations which resulted in the reception of these people as a part of the League of the Iroquois. The Conestogas were Senecas, and well disposed towards the Tuscaroras. The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania was evidently moved by something akin to pity, but before expressing willingness that the Tuscaroras should come within their borders, told them they must bring a certificate of good behavior from the Government of North Carolina!

The Tuscarora belts—sign of their supplication—were sent by the Conestogas to the head council of the Five

3. Bureau of American Ethnology, “*Handbook of American Indians*,” Part II, p. 843.

Nations at Onondaga; and here their story becomes a part of that of New York State.

Even after their appeal to Pennsylvania, the Tuscaroras were again involved in strife with the ever-encroaching whites. With the Coree Indians—a neighbor tribe which had its own grievance against the settlers—as allies, in June, 1711, they fell on the Swiss and Palatine settlers of the Trent valley, killing some 70 of them, with much destruction of property. Could the story of this so-called massacre have been preserved for us by a Tuscarora historian, the record would no doubt be less favorable for the unfortunate settlers than that we now have; but even the story that has come down to us shows the whites in a bad light. According to De Graffenreid, one of the causes of the war was the “rough treatment of some turbulent Carolinians, who cheated those Indians in trading, and would not allow them to hunt near their plantations, and under that pretense took away from them their game, arms and ammunition,” and that the despised Indians being “insulted in many ways by a few rough Carolinians, more barbarous and inhuman than the savages themselves, could not stand such treatment any longer.”

There are many phases of the strife in North Carolina which no attempt is here made to trace. The grievances of the Tuscaroras were, in brief, the seizure of their lands, the driving off of the game, the constant cheating by traders, the capture of their children—and sometimes of adults—and their sale into slavery. The traffic of early American settlers, in Indians as slaves, is a shameful subject still awaiting a thorough setting-forth by some competent and judicious historian.

The principal purpose of these notes is, to trace the advent of the Tuscaroras in New York State.

It was in the time of Governor Hunter that news of these southern outbreaks began to reach the North. The Indians

of New York Colony were so aroused that we find the Governor writing to the Lords of Trade, June 23, 1712: "The war between the people of North Carolina and the Tuscarora Indians is like to embroil us all. The Five Nations, by the instigation of the French, threaten to joyn them, though very lately they sent me by their own messengers to them, their offers to interpose amicably in that matter. I have sent some men of interest with them to dissuade them from their fatal design, with presents and promises. . . . They are but a handful, and puffed up with the court has been made to them." Again, writing to Secretary Popple, September 10, Governor Hunter gave utterance to his apprehensions: "The Five Nations are hardly to be dissuaded from sheltering the Tuscarora Indians," and then he complains that he cannot furnish "out of my own pockets," the presents they seemed to expect.

The proposed removal of these southern Indians is seen, therefore, as something more than the advent and peaceful settlement of a few hundred folk among their ancient tribesmen. The matter was at once given a political importance out of all proportion to the facts. The Five Nations were by no means wholly in alliance with the French of Canada, yet Hunter, in his representations to officials in England, sought to show that the coming of the Tuscaroras was by the instigation of the French; thus, in this same year of 1712, we find the Lords of Trade solemnly assuring the Earl of Dartmouth that the Tuscarora strife was "like to embroyle all the Continent."

The next year, Hunter still being Governor, three experienced men, Hendrick Hansen, Johannes Bleecker and Lawrence Claessen, were sent to the council house at Onondaga to confer with the Five Nations. Claessen was an interpreter famous for many years in the service of the English. On their way to Onondaga he learned that a report had spread that the English "had resolved to kill and destroy

all who had Black pates, meaning thereby all the Nations of Indians." On approaching Onondaga Castle, he says, "we were met by about 150 Indians, old and young, who surrounded us and set up a wild shrieking and uproar." The sachems were eager to know if all Indians were to be destroyed. This report the commissioners ascribed to French influence.

At the council they met four Tuscaroras, who had come from the South with wampum belts. This is the first record we have of the presence of these people in New York State. At the council one of them, addressing the sachems of the Five Nations, said: "I come here to tell you that we consent to what you have for two years requested of us"—meaning that "whenever the Five Nations should have need of them, they should be always ready at their orders"—a very characteristic turning of the matter, by which the cause of their removal was shifted to the New York Indians. It was perfectly well known to the English in New York that this tribe was fugitive from their English enemies in North Carolina; yet for some years the effort was kept up to implicate the French of Canada in their removal.

The Tuscaroras further said at this time that they were under command of the Five Nations, and were their subjects, "and that wherever they should please to tell them to go and reside, there they would make their dwelling," and the arrangement was confirmed with twenty large belts "and twice three strings of wampum."

After this the sachem Decanasora, "in full meeting not only of the sachems but of all the inhabitants," etc., assembled at Onondaga, said:

"Brother Corlear [the Governor of New York], says that the Queen's subjects towards the South are now at war with the Tuscarorase Indians. These Indians went out heretofore from us, and have settled themselves there; now they have got into war, and are dispersed, and have abandoned

their castles. But have compassion on them. The English have got the upper hand of them; they have abandoned their castles and are scattered hither and thither; let that suffice; and we request our Brother Corlaer to act as mediator between the English of Carrellyna and the Tuskaroras, that they may be no longer hunted down, and we assure that we will oblige them not to do the English any more harm; for they are no longer a Nation with a name, being once dispersed."

The emissaries of the Tuscaroras returned to the South; nor do we find further record of that tribe in New York until September 25, 1714, when sachems of the Five Nations, addressing the Governor at Albany, said: "We acquaint you that the Tuscarore Indians are come to shelter themselves among the Five Nations. They were of us, and went from us long ago and are now returned and promise to live peaceably among us; and since there is peace now everywhere, we have received them. We desire you to look upon the Tuscaroras that are come to live among us [as] our children who shall obey our commands and live peaceably and orderly."

A portion of the Oneidas' territory was assigned to them, bounded by the Susquehanna on the south, the Unadilla on the east, the Chenango on the west. How many made up the first band that came, seems nowhere stated. They did not all leave North Carolina at once, nor did they all come through to New York. In 1720 some of them were living in Virginia, and complaints reached New York's governor—Burnet—of robberies committed by straggling bands of Tuscaroras and others of the Iroquois. Two Tuscaroras came to Governor Burnet with a war belt from the Governor of Virginia (as they said), asking that the Five Nations should declare war on the Catawbias. About this time the New York tribes reported to Burnet that French Indians (*i. e.*, tribes in allegiance to the French in Canada), were

living with the Tuscaroras "near Virginia, and go backwards and forwards."

None too clear, such records; but they do make plain that the return of the Tuscaroras to their ancient home in New York was by no means the simple migration it has been made to appear.

In 1722, the Tuscaroras, having been formally incorporated into the League, were sharing in councils with the English at Albany. Others of the tribe had settled with the Iroquois of Conestoga in what is now Lancaster County, Pa.; and still others pitched their lodges with Shawanese and Mohawks at Oquaga, now Windsor, Broome County, N. Y. In 1736, an enumeration of the Five Nations, made by an officer in French-Canadian service—probably either the elder Joncaire or La Chauvignerie—reported 250 men in the Tuscarora village "near the Onondagas." With the Oneidas and Cayugas, the Tuscaroras were called "younger brothers," one of the three younger branches of the Iroquois Confederacy. Their subordinate position was shown in 1726 when there was great turmoil over the building of Fort Niagara. When Burnet asked the Six Nations why they had allowed it, he was told, it was the Onondagas who had given consent, while "the Cayugas and Tuscaroras sat still and heard the Onondagas speak."

The Tuscaroras who had not yet emigrated, continued to be involved in troubles to the southward. In 1726 they, with some Mohawks, Senecas, and Canada Indians, were charged with having raided and killed Indians of other tribes in South Carolina. This again aroused the administrators of New York, who never ceased to fear French influence. In 1737 we find Lt. Gov. George Clarke, in council at New York, June 30, urging the Six Nations to keep the Shawanese "among yourselves, as you have the Tuskierores, to prevent their going to the French." In this

he failed, for the Shawanese were, for the most part, under French control, down to the conquest of Canada.

For a good many years, we find the Tuscaroras scattered in many bands, living with friendly tribes in several states. A report of 1741 calls them the Tachekaroreins. Six years later the French officer La Chauvignerie boasted at Montreal that the Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas and "Tescarorins" were "all well disposed towards the French." Again he said, they gave pledge of their "perfect neutrality." In 1748, Daniel de Joncaire, at Quebec, assured the Governor, La Galissoniere, before whom he appeared with 80 Indians of the Six Nations, that they were "empowered to speak for the Taskorins," who were friendly to the French. Such assurances signified little. By this time, such Tuscaroras as were resident in New York were thoroughly in obedience to the stronger tribes of the League. In 1753 Colonel (afterward Sir) William Johnson advised the Oneidas: "Have your castles as near together as you conveniently can with the Tuscaroras, who belong to you as children." This relationship, he added, "makes it necessary for me to fix a new string to the cradle which was hung up by your forefathers when they received the Tuscaroras."

In 1755 Tuscaroras and Oneidas served with the English forces at Lake George;⁴ and the next year we find Sir William Johnson writing to the Lords of Trade that the Tuscaroras were asking for a garrisoned fort near their town; he saw in this a proof of loyalty.

In Sir William's journal of his negotiations with the Indians, in the summer of 1756, are interesting records, showing the status of the Tuscaroras at this time. That they were well trusted may be gathered from the fact that they were employed as spies in Canada. Some of them were at a conference in Montreal, whereof Vaudreuil wrote

4. Vaudreuil to M. de Machault, Sept. 25, 1755.

that the Tuscaroras had "accepted the hatchet from the English." Some soldiers of the 44th Regiment, at Schenectady, had killed three Tuscaroras; had cut off the head of one of them, called Jerry, and set it on a stake in the camp; and had otherwise angered them. Johnson was a good deal disturbed over it, for beside the resentment the quarrel had aroused, several of the Tuscarora chiefs had been so well received at Montreal that he feared they would all go over to the French. At a council at Onondaga, and at a camp at Oneida, the Tuscaroras showed him a French wampum belt, which was virtually an invitation. But Sir William, as usual, was equal to the occasion. He spoke to them pleasantly, he gave them presents, and he promised them a fort. The following extracts from his journal illustrate his effective diplomacy.

Being gathered at the Onondaga council-house, he said:

Brethren of the Tuscarora: It gives me great satisfaction to find you living in so compact a body, and as I well know your attachment to your Brethren the English, I shall be inclined to do anything which may contribute to your safety and welfare. You will be much safer here with a good outwork on the hill than as you now are, wherefore if you incline to have one built there I will order it to be done immediately and give you several guns to mount in it or anything else for your defense; and as you as well as the Onondagas complain of the want of provisions, send some of your young men down to my house and I will send you a sufficient quantity to serve you until your crops come in.

Brethren, I must strongly recommend unanimity to you in your councils and actions and then you will be ready to join his Majesty's arms whenever I call upon you, as I have now sharpened your hatchet and given you all necessary complements of war. [And he gave them a wampum belt.]

To which the Sequareesera, their chief, spoke as follows:

Brother: We are glad you approve of our situation and way of living. We shall think ourselves much safer with such a house as you propose and hope you will not defer building it as soon as you can, also to send us some Swiffel guns and ammunition in plenty; then you may depend upon it we will make the best defense we can should the French attempt to molest us there. We will also be ready to rise up at your call. We have neglected hunting this great while watching a call from you so that we are very poor and in want of many necessities for our families which we hope you will supply us with as our only dependence at these times is on you. [Gave a belt.]

In August of this summer the Tuscarora sachems went to Sir William's house at Fort Johnson, where he spoke to them as follows:

Brethren of Tuscarora: As I understand you are to set off to-morrow I have prepared everything for your people and journey as you desired, viz.: Indian corn for the support of your families until your crops are ripe, swivel guns for your fort, clothing for your people and men to build a good block house on the eminence which commands your fort. As your father the King takes care of you and as you see all the nations are turning out some of their young men to war against our common enemy, the French, I now expect by this belt of wampum that you will encourage your young men to turn out also which will induce me to supply your further wants. [A belt of wampum given.]

Their answer:

Brother: We of the Tuscarora Nation are very thankful to our father the King and you for supplying our wants so far and building a place of security for us. You may be assured we the sachems will acquaint the young men of our Nation with your desire, and encourage them to comply with it. At the same time we must tell you we did not expect you would call upon us till you were ready to move with your army, when we all promised to join you whenever you went as our hunting is entirely impeded by this quarrel between you and the French, and as none of our Nation ever go to Canada we have no way to supply our families but by applying to you. What you have now given us is very considerable and satisfactory, yet it is far short of what we really want. [A belt.]

Brother: As we have rejected all the great offers of the French Governor lately made us and of the priest at Swegatchie,⁵ and as we have been and are now firm friends of yours, we are now under some apprehensions that the French may attempt destroying us especially when our young men turn out to war against them, wherefore we should be glad you would send some men to our Castle to protect our families and in that case we beg you may choose a good discreet officer and sober party.

Sir William's answer:

Brethren of Tuscarora: I shall let Lord Loudoun know your desire, and when I know his pleasure, shall acquaint you with it.

The allegiance of the Tuscaroras to the English interest may fairly be dated from these conferences of 1756. With the Oneidas they became the most stanch and trusted allies of the English, throughout the war with France.

5. Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg.

Their head man, in those days, was designated, in English reports, as Segwarusara, Sequareesera, and other spellings, obviously of the same word. Many years later we find it as Sagareesa, Sacarese, etc., interpreted as "Sword-carrier." It is a title, and not an individual name.⁶ Other chiefs or sachems mentioned in the 18th Century are Rudt, Kanigot and Thighrorotea.

In 1763 the Tuscaroras had 140 fighting men—and probably more than twice as many women and children—in one village six miles from the principal Oneida village. There were still several Tuscarora settlements in the Susquehanna valley; those who had stopped at Tamaqua, Pa., in 1713 appear to have removed after two years. These were adopted by the Senecas "as children." It remains to trace briefly the fortunes of some of these people who had remained in North Carolina, where their number had been estimated—probably over-estimated—at from 3,000 to 4,000. Sir William Johnson even reported that in six North Carolina towns they numbered 5,000 or 6,000; but subsequent records do not account for such numbers. In 1766, 160 Tuscaroras, just from North Carolina, came in on Sir William Johnson. and were sent to New York villages.

In 1767 there was another fragmentary migration, many Indians of various tribes, including the Tuscarora, being attracted to the Moravian Mission at Friedenshuetten, on the Susquehanna near Wyalusing. The missionaries reported that they were lazy "and refuse to hear religion." Some of them who had camped near the river, were so alarmed at a snowfall, the first they had ever seen, that they begged the missionaries to give them refuge.

Various companies of them coming into the Colony of New York, sites were assigned them. In the northern part

6. In 1794 we find the Tuscarora "Sacharese" visiting Philadelphia with Cornplanter, to attend a treaty; at which he asked that proper young men be sent as teachers to the Tuscaroras.

of the Oneida territory, already mentioned, they were allotted to Ganasaraga—near present Sullivan Madison County; and to Kaunehsuntahkeh—exact site uncertain. Of the migration of 1766, Sir William Johnson wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, December 16th of that year:

This moment an interpreter arrived here with several Tuscarora chiefs returned from North Carolina, whither they went last spring in order to bring the remainder of their tribe out of danger from that government, which they have now done to the number of 160, and they have produced to me certificates of their quiet behavior and decorum, under the seals of the magistrates of the several districts thro' which they passed; notwithstanding which, by the account the interpreter and they give me, as also from the letters I received by them, I find that on their way, their lives were several times attempted by the frontier people, who assembled for that purpose, to prevent which for the future, one of my officers that way, was necessitated to put the Crown to the charge of an attendant white man, and that on their return, having sold part of their lands in Carolina, and purchased sundry horses, wagons, etc., for carrying some effects, they were again used ill at Paxton in Pennsylvania and robbed of several horses, etc., valued at £55; of this the Tuscarora chiefs complained to several of the Six Nations, and I have just now with difficulty prevented them from making a formal complaint to the whole Confederacy, on promising them that it should be inquired into.

I am persuaded Governor Penn will do all he can on receipt of my letter, but these sort of lawless people are not easily detected, being screened by one another. There have been several instances of much of the same nature lately in different quarters on the frontiers.

The Tuscaroras shared in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, October 24, 1768, at which was established the boundary line between the Northern colonies and the Indian lands. It may be noted here that they later shared in the following treaties with the United States Government: Fort Stanwix, 1784; Fort Harmar, Ohio, 1789; Canandaigua, 1794; Oneida, 1794; and Buffalo Creek, 1838.

At Fort Herkimer, in 1785, they were made a party to the treaty by which the Oneidas ceded to the State of New York the lands they had occupied from a time unrecorded. Thus they were again scattered. In after years, we find settlements of Tuscaroras at or near the east end of Oneida Lake; on Cayuga Inlet; and on the Genesee below Avon.

They had espoused the cause of the Colonies against Great Britain; whereupon Indian allies of the British raided the Tuscarora towns in the Genesee valley and destroyed their crops.

More than half a century had elapsed since these people had made their home within the bounds of New York State. Now they were again homeless. About the close of the Revolution, a company of them settled at Johnson's Landing, four miles east of the mouth of the Niagara. From this neighborhood two families made their way to the northeastern limits of the present reservation in Niagara County, a place where there was a fine stream, with walnut and butternut trees; and here they wintered. Others joined them, with the tacit consent of the Senecas, who claimed all this region as their own domain. This was the beginning of the present Tuscarora reservation.⁷

At the treaty of 1797, at Geneseo, between the Senecas and Robert Morris, for the United States, the Tuscaroras complained that they had received nothing for giving up the lands granted them among the Oneidas. The justice of their cause was admitted, and there were set aside for them at this time two square miles—1,280 acres—covering their settlement on the ridge east of Lewiston. To this the Seneca Nation added a square mile. In 1800 a delegation went to North Carolina to try and collect payment for lands formerly occupied by their people. The details of the undertaking cannot be entered upon here. Suffice to say, it was measurably successful; so that by 1802, with the aid of the North Carolina Legislature, the former Tuscarora lands were leased, yielding \$13,722. With this sum the Secretary of the Treasury bought from the Holland Land Company, for the Tuscaroras, 4,329 acres adjoining the three square miles already occupied; thus making the

7. Elias Johnson, the Tuscarora historian, tells the story of this settlement in his "*Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois*," etc., Lockport, 1881.

entire reservation in Niagara County, 6,249 acres; and here the Tuscaroras still abide, less than 500 souls.⁸

It was at the time of the North Carolina leases, that the last considerable migration of these people occurred. In 1820 some 70, out of a population of about 300, left the Niagara reservation, and settled with Mohawks and other Indians on the Grand River in Canada.

The actual migration of the Tuscaroras, then, as we have shown, from North Carolina to New York State, occurred at various times from 1712 to 1802. Now began a series of efforts to dispossess them in New York State and remove them to various places in the West. Into the intricate history of these attempts, it is not here designed to enter. About 1818 it was proposed to purchase lands in the neighborhood of Green Bay, Wisconsin, held by the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and transfer to them certain New York tribes, the Tuscaroras among them. The scheme came to naught. Later, their removal to the Indian Territory was undertaken, and in May, 1846, about 40 were induced to embark on a Lake Erie steamboat. Some 200 Tuscaroras, Senecas and others, finally reached the promised land of the Indian Territory. Within a year, a third of them had died from privation and disease. The Government, however benevolent its designs, had failed in giving proper care to its incapable wards; and the misconduct of agents turned the attempt into a cruel and fatal fiasco, the story of which may be traced in treaties and memorials through many years.

A brighter chapter in Tuscarora history is the record of missionary work amongst them. Some progress they have made in agriculture, in education. They still have prospective revenues from unexpired leases in North Carolina. They live for the most part in comfort, and are a

8. For recent statistics of population, etc., the reader is referred to Government census reports. In 1890 they numbered 439; in 1910, 382.

shining example for trustworthiness, thrift and morality among all of our Indian neighbors of Western New York.

Something of the foregoing historical sketch, its author attempted to give at the picnic in the maple grove; and by way of a farewell word, he added—recalling the fashion of ancient days:

“Brothers, I have spoken. If I had strings and belts of wampum, as your ancestors would have had, I would have given them to you, as I spoke, to confirm my words. You must imagine that I have done so; and now I give a very large belt, with the pipe woven in it, to keep the chain of friendship bright and shining.”

NOTE:—The Tuscarora Nation still claims title to extensive tracts of land in North Carolina. In 1917, Mr. Glenn A. Stockwell, of Niagara Falls, under instructions of the Tuscarora Nation, prepared a petition and submitted it to the Attorney-General of the United States, setting forth the claims of the Tuscaroras against the State of North Carolina. It recites many historical incidents of interest, especially in relation to the leasing of Tuscarora lands.

Among other things, it set forth that the Tuscarora lands in Bertie County, North Carolina, were confirmed to them by Treaty in 1748. May 2, 1778, the rights conferred by Treaty were reaffirmed by Act of the North Carolina Legislature and the lands were exempted from taxes. It was at that time enacted by the Legislature that Tuscarora lands which had been leased to various settlers should revert and become the property of the State at the expiration of the leases if the Tuscarora Nation was extinct or if the Tuscaroras had entirely abandoned or removed themselves from the State lands.

In 1802 the North Carolina Legislature passed an Act for relief of the Tuscaroras. It stated that as these Indians had asked authorization to lease the residue of their lands they were so authorized in regard to the Bertie County lands for a term to expire when the leases which had been made in 1766 should end. Commissioners were appointed to carry this Act into effect. Leases under this Act were to be “held and deemed the occupancy and possession of the Tuscaroras,” as if the Indians actually resided on said lands.

The above Acts were passed prior to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States by North Carolina.

Apparently, in 1801, the Tuscaroras named certain chiefs to confer with the State of North Carolina and the Federal Government in regard to further leases of their lands. William R. Davie was appointed United States commissioner to act for the Government in negotiations with the Indians. The next year, November 15, 1802, North Carolina passed an Act authorizing the chiefs to lease their lands and stipulating that the governor of the State should appoint three commissioners to carry out the Act. Commissioner Davie and the Indian delegates entered into an agreement which, had it been ratified by the United States, would have become a Treaty. In 1803, Thomas Jefferson, then President, submitted such a draft of a proposed Treaty to the Senate, which body consented to its ratification; but it is asserted that the Treaty was never proclaimed or ratified by the President and is, therefore, of no force.

In 1828, North Carolina again enacted legislation affecting the Tuscarora lands. Their sale was sanctioned and the Governor appointed a commissioner who sold the equity of redemption of the State for \$3,250, or at the average of eight cents per acre. Some of the deeds executed under this Act show that large tracts of the Indians' lands were sold at prices much below this average. In one case 900 acres were conveyed for \$18.50; another tract was sold for an average of 1½

cents per acre. The commissioner in this negotiation, Bates Cook, appears to have received the funds paid in these transactions.

November 19, 1881, certain chiefs of the Tuscaroras executed a deed reciting the sale above mentioned and acknowledging the receipt of \$3,250 for their lands. The Indian signatures to this deed are of interest, for some of the names have long continued to be well known on the Tuscarora Reservation. They are: William Chew, Nicholas Casle, George Warchief, Jonathan Printup, Matthew Jack, William Johnson, Isaac Miller.

All of the leases above indicated appear to have expired July 12, 1916. Under Act of the State Legislature October 15, 1748, these lands on the expiration of the leases were to revert to the State. It is claimed, however, that none of the leases made under the sanction of the legislative acts were ever ratified by the United States Government. It is further claimed that the Federal Government had and has sole power and jurisdiction in the matter. In consequence of this interpretation it is understood that claims in behalf of the Tuscaroras are still being urged for suitable compensation for their North Carolina lands. It is alleged that they did not receive all of the lease money, even the small rates above stated. In some cases it is alleged that the rental was as low as 2 mills per year per acre and that a large part of what is due them was wrongfully withheld from the Indians.

In a word, it is claimed on behalf of the Tuscaroras that the title to the North Carolina lands which have been under lease for so many years, is still vested in the Tuscarora Nation. It is claimed that the various legislative acts of the State of North Carolina have been of no force or effect in so far as they attempt to alienate the title of the Tuscarora Nation in the lands in question. Finally, it is claimed that the only attempt at treaty between the Indians and the State of North Carolina sanctioned by the Federal Government is without force inasmuch as it was never ratified and proclaimed.

The Tuscaroras now residing in Niagara County have asked that Congress pass an enabling Act directing and permitting them to bring action against either the State of North Carolina or persons occupying and claiming title to the lands. In pursuance of this action the Messrs. Watts, Stockwell & Hunt, attorneys at Niagara Falls, in behalf of the Tuscaroras, prepared the petition as above stated, setting forth the foregoing and other pertinent facts; and this petition, with a brief prepared by the attorney for the State of North Carolina, and a report by Indian Commissioner Oato Sells, was submitted to the Attorney General at Washington in 1917. It is understood that the Attorney General ruled that the Indians should be permitted to bring said suit; but it is reported that the decision of the Attorney General's office has since been reversed; according to which the Government now takes the position that no proceedings should be instituted. Whether this is a final action in the long-contested case or not it is impossible at present to say.

WHERE IS BUFFALO?

WHERE IS BUFFALO?

THE DETERMINATION OF ITS LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE IN 1861.

As is to be expected, there is much discrepancy in the earlier surveys, as to the exact location of Buffalo. In comparatively recent years, engineers of the United States Lake Survey have determined the location by observations and calculations with base at Buffalo Plains; an "East-base," presumably the eastern boundary of the city; the Buffalo lighthouse; the Horseshoe lighthouse; and the intersection of Michigan and Exchange streets; calculating from these as a mean result for Buffalo city, the latitude $42^{\circ} 53' 03.18''$; and longitude west of Greenwich $78^{\circ} 52' 41.83''$.

For one or more earlier surveys the lighthouse at the harbor entrance was used to designate Buffalo and as late as 1861 its position was reported at lat. $42^{\circ} 50'$, long. $78^{\circ} 59'$.

In 1857, and again in 1858, appropriations were made by the Legislature of New York State to defray the cost of ascertaining the true meridian of such localities as the Board of Regents might designate. By 1862, the location of four points in the State had been determined under this provision: the Dudley Observatory, Albany; the Hamilton College Observatory near Clinton; the courthouse, Syracuse; and the lighthouse in Buffalo harbor. The following correspondence and reports relating to the work done in Buffalo is deemed appropriate for preservation in the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. The documents are drawn from the records of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York.

JUDGE WILLIAMS TO PROF. WOOLWORTH.

TREASURER'S OFFICE, HAMILTON COLLEGE:

CLINTON, ONEIDA COUNTY, (N. Y.), July 23, 1861.

DR. S. B. WOOLWORTH, *Secretary, &c.*

DEAR SIR: In pursuance of a resolution adopted by our Board of Trustees at its annual meeting held on the 17th instant, I transmit to the Regents of the University Dr. Peters' Report on the longitude of Buffalo. It is a learned and elaborate paper, and I trust will prove satisfactory.

And remain your obedient servant,

O. S. WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF DR. PETERS, ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE CITY OF BUFFALO, IN AUGUST, 1860.

HON. O. S. WILLIAMS, *Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Hamilton College.*

DEAR SIR: The Regents of the University, in confiding to the Hamilton College Observatory the work of determining the longitude of the City of Buffalo (forming part of the longitude determinations ordered by the State Legislature), were desirous that at the same time also the latitude of that important lake port, on the terminus of the Erie Canal and of the New York Central Railroad, might be accurately fixed, and requested that the final result should be referred to the lighthouse in the harbor. Consequently the work to be performed was three-fold: 1st, the longitude, to be obtained, of course, by the telegraphic method; 2d, the latitude; and 3d, the transformation of these coordinates from the observing station to the lighthouse.

The instrument at our disposition, both for time determinations and for observations in the prime vertical, was the 32-inch portable Transit, which, as will be seen below, has proved very suitable for the purpose. It permits, by its optical power, a sufficient number of stars to be taken in daytime, while its weight and bulk are not too cumbersome in transporting and mounting.

In July I went to Buffalo the first time, in order to select a convenient station, and to put the same, by a temporary wire, into connection with the great telegraph line, the use of which has been conceded by the Superintendent, J. D. Reid, Esq., with his customary liberality. In the more densely built business portion of the city,

however, where the telegraph line passes, no locality was found commanding sufficient range of the sky both in the meridian and in the direction perpendicular to it, suiting at the same time the condition of stability for the instrument, and offering the necessary security against injury and disturbance. It was, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I accepted the very kind offer of Dr. W. S. VanDuzee, who put at our free disposition his private observatory at his residence on Main Street, and deserves our best thanks for the effective aid given with so great amiability to our enterprise. The nearest distance, however, of Dr. Van Duzee's observatory from the telegraph line being about one mile and a half, the expense of a temporary connecting wire of such a length seemed unauthorized; and therefore another mode of transmitting Buffalo time to Hamilton College was hit upon, which although not equally direct, and giving some more work to the observer, has proved entirely successful, as will be seen from the results.

To explain this mode: I remarked that there was only one observer, with one transit and one clock and chronograph, besides a chronometer. The quality of our clock permits a reliance upon the invariability of its rate for several successive days without sensible error. Therefore, after having determined its correction to true time; then making a quick journey to Buffalo, mounting here the transit instrument, and recording by means of the telegraph the transits of a number of stars upon the chronograph at Hamilton College; and finally returning with the Transit and ascertaining without delay the clock-error anew, the readings of the chronograph sheets would furnish a knowledge of the two local times simultaneously existing, or rather a comparison of the corrections of the clock in regard to each of the two meridians, and hence the difference in longitude.

Such was the plan proposed, which now was modified in so far that not the star-signals themselves were transmitted by the telegraph, but the breaks made at certain seconds of the chronometer. This latter was regulated by transits at Dr. Van Duzee's observatory; then carefully carried to the telegraph office; here a number of seconds were signalled by means of taps upon a break-circuit key, and, after returning to the observatory, another set of transits was observed, for the purpose of eliminating the influence of any change in the chronometer-rate by transportation. The taps can be made to coincide far more accurately with the chronometer beats than with the transits of a star behind the wires; and moreover as in the former circumstance they may easily be multiplied to an

almost unlimited extent, no sensible increase of the probable error in the transmitted time is to be feared as arising from this additional source.

The time of the transits in Buffalo being noted on the chronometer by ear and eye, those at the Hamilton College Observatory were observed exactly in the same manner; and likewise the chronometer was compared with the clock in a corresponding way, *viz.*, chronographically. Thus it is evident that any discrepancy arising from a different mode of determining the time at the two places, or any *personal equation*, was avoided.

After I made a good set of time determinations on the 6th August, I started again for Buffalo on the 7th, this time accompanied by the transit instrument and the sidereal chronometer. The following day, the former was mounted on the fixed pier under the meridian slot of Dr. Van Duzee's observatory. The observations were begun immediately, and time-signals sent to Hamilton College that same evening; they were repeated on the following evening. On the 10th August I returned with the Transit, and made time determinations on the 11th again at the Hamilton College Observatory. Here, on both the evenings when time-signals were transmitted, Prof. O. Root had the kindness, at a concerted hour, to prepare and put the chronograph in motion.

The success in arriving at a good and accurate result by the method described, depending essentially on the uniformity of the clock-rate, it was necessary, in order to obtain full evidence of such uniformity, to observe transits in the week following the 11th August, as had been done during the week preceding the 6th. By combining the time determinations made on July 28 and 30, and August 5, 6, 11, 16 and 19, I have obtained only a confirmation of the excellency of the clock.

The armature and wave-time of the electric current cannot be determined but by means of two chronographs simultaneously recording. Either the correction for it may be entirely neglected on account of its smallness, or it may be inferred from other observations. It is subtractive in our case, the signals being sent from the western station; and from the operations between the Harvard and Hamilton College observatories, I have assumed three hundredths of a second for its amount.

Between the 21st and 30th August, by forming a small triangulation, the connection of the observing station with the lighthouse was effected. The lighthouse is not visible from Dr. Van Duzee's observatory; but, in reconnoitering, it was ascertained that by only two

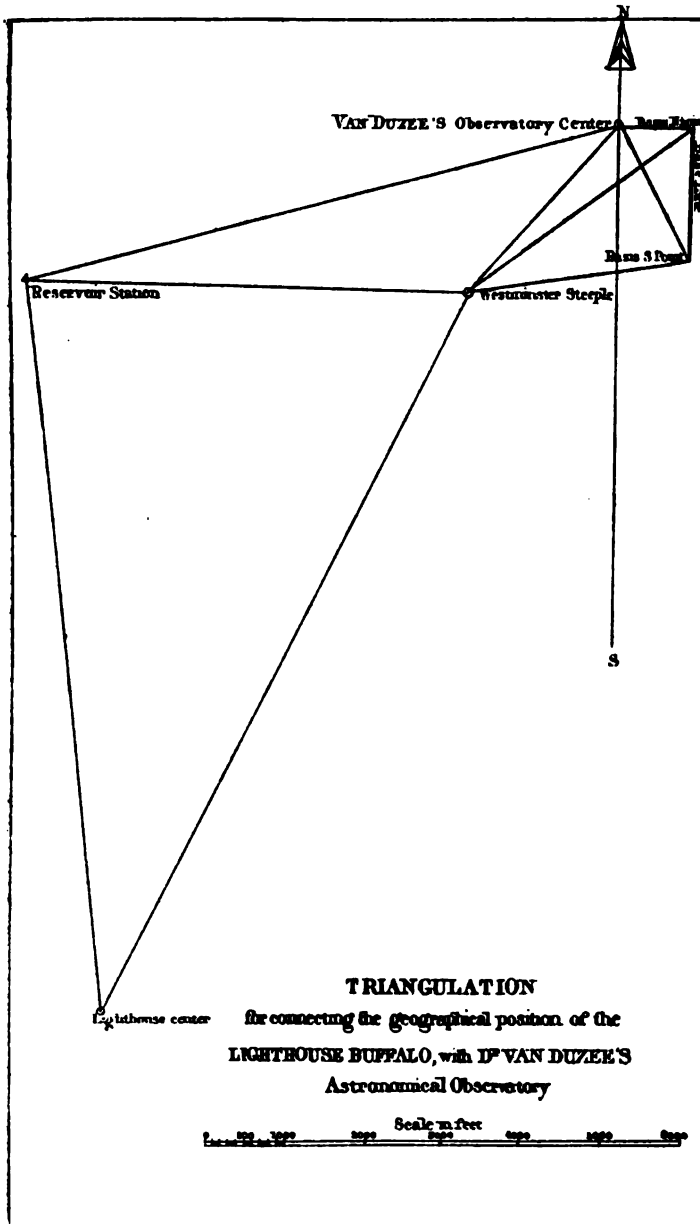


DIAGRAM ACCOMPANYING PROFESSOR PETERS' REPORT

intermediate points, *vis.*, the steeple of Westminster Church and a station on the Reservoir¹, that is, by no more than two triangles, the lighthouse might be reached. A base-line of exactly 1,700 feet was measured near the observatory; and the azimuth of Westminster steeple from the observatory was determined by means of the sun, a small theodolite serving both for this determination and for measuring the triangles. This instrument, however, could not be placed in Westminster steeple; and the third angles at this point, therefore, have been supplied from the triangles.

The latitude was determined on the nights of the 27th and 29th August; a temporary brick-pier, and a small wooden building with an opening in the prime vertical for placing there the Hamilton College Transit, having been erected in Dr. Van Duzee's garden, 24 feet north and 73 feet east from the center of the dome of the observatory. In the mean time, to regulate the chronometer, a small portable transit instrument, owned by Dr. Van Duzee, was replaced in the meridian. Instead of making a previous selection of stars for the prime vertical transits, I preferred to observe all those conveniently entering the field in moderate zenith-distances; taking care to obtain for each position (north and south) of the instrumental axis a nearly equal number of stars in east and in west, and so great a number that the errors of the individual declinations (sometimes found only in Lalande's Catalogue) might sufficiently compensate each other.

Having finished the observations for latitude and the trigonometrical operations, I intended to improve the occasion by sending, the evening before my departure, a few confirmatory signals for longitude. The weather, however, which had been highly favorable during our previous operations, now had changed; and finally when on the 13th September I had obtained an unobjectionable set of time determinations, it was ascertained that the wires between Utica and Clinton were out of repair; wherefore I closed my journeys by returning home on the 15th September.

Dr. Peters' report continues with tables of transit observations and other details of the work not necessary to record here. Having determined the latitude and longitude of the lighthouse, he remarked on the discrepancy of his result and the figures published in the *American Almanac*

1. At Niagara and Connecticut Streets.

for 1861, apparently compiled with care, which gave the location as lat. $42^{\circ} 50'$, long. $78^{\circ} 59'$. These figures, wrote Dr. Peters in concluding his report, "differ from our results respectively by $2' 46''$ and $5' 25''$," both in *plus*, that is, the City of Buffalo hitherto has been set down about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles too far south and 4 miles too far west. Especially the latter change, that of the longitude, is not only interesting, but of some administrative importance. For if, together with the meridian of Buffalo (as is probable), the meridian of the whole western portion of the State henceforth ought to be removed eastward by four miles, then it follows that the area of the State of New York is in reality from 300 to 400 square miles smaller than has been assumed."²

Dr. William S. Van Duzee, who is still remembered by older residents of Buffalo, dwelt for many years at the corner of Main and Riley streets, where his observatory and telescope—an exceptional scientific equipment for such a town as Buffalo was in 1861—were objects of great interest to townspeople and to visitors. He removed from Buffalo to Lancaster, Erie County, where he died, February 1, 1883, aged 71.

Christian Henry Frederick Peters, whose work in determining the geographic location of Buffalo has been indicated, was an astronomer of considerable distinction. Born in Coldenbüttel, Schleswig, September 19, 1813, he studied at the universities of Berlin and Copenhagen. He accompanied the Baron Sartorius von Walthershausen to Sicily and made a topographical survey of Mount Etna. His scientific work being interrupted by the outbreak of the Italian revolution, he joined the insurrectionists under Garibaldi, won honors on the field and was made major of artillery. On the suppression of the insurrection, in 1848, he fled to Turkey, where he met the United States Minister,

2. N. Y. Senate Doc. 95, April 5, 1862.

George P. Marsh, who advised him to seek his fortune in America. Peters followed this advice, and coming to this country, first made his home at Cambridge, Mass., and was soon employed by the U. S. Geological Survey, retiring from that service in 1857. The next year began his long connection with Hamilton College, which lasted until his death in 1890.

On numerous occasions the work of Dr. Peters as director of the Litchfield Observatory at Clinton, and professor of astronomy in the college, was varied by special services. He headed the expedition sent by the United States Government to New Zealand to observe the transit of Venus, December 9, 1874. He proved and registered more than 112,000 stars, and discovered many new stars and nearly 50 asteroids. In 1887 he attended the International Congress of Astronomers, at Paris, on which occasion he was made by the French Government a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. After his death an appropriation was made by the Carnegie Institute to publish work left by him. During his active years he had contributed to various scientific periodicals; the greater part of his research work is recorded in the *Astronomische Nachrichten*.

Such, in brief, was the career of the distinguished astronomer who more than a half century ago, determined the latitude and longitude of Buffalo.

**PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY**

1915, 1916, 1917

NOTE

The reports submitted at the annual meetings of the Buffalo Historical Society for 1915 and 1916, were issued in pamphlet form and mailed to all members, but were not included in the volumes of Publications for those years, because those volumes (XX and XXI) were devoted to one historical narrative—Severance's "An Old Frontier of France"—and were issued by a New York publisher for the general trade as well as for the members of the Historical Society. These reports are therefore included in the present volume, as are the reports of the last annual meeting, dealing with the work of the Society in 1917.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 11, 1916.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 11, 1916; President Henry W. Hill in the chair. The minutes of the preceding annual meeting were read and approved, after which the President delivered his annual address, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This Annual Meeting calls for some detailed information as to the activities of the Society during the year that has just closed, which will more fully appear in the Secretary's and Treasurer's reports and I need not discuss such matters as will appear in those reports.

The past year has not been signalled by any such noted assemblages in this city as those of the American Historical Association and the New York State Historical Association, both of which have heretofore held their annual sessions in this city. Such assemblages of historians and historical students and those engaged in historical work are stimulating to local historical activities, and we welcome all such organizations to our city.

Delegates from this organization during the year have attended the annual meetings of the American Historical Association in Washington in December, and of the New York State Historical Association at West Point in October. In this way we are kept in touch with the valuable work of those larger organizations, which are respectively performing for the State and the Nation some such service as this Society is performing for the Niagara Frontier.

Too much stress can not be laid upon the importance of this work. It lies at the basis of all our social, business and governmental activities. The founders of the Buffalo Historical Society, who were active and thoroughly practical men, fully understood the importance of the activities of such an organization in this historical territory and freely gave of their services and means to insure its foundation

and perpetuity. All these have been enumerated on former occasions, when celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, and at other anniversary exercises.

Though the past year has not been marked by any noted assemblage of historical workers in this city, it has been one of such world-disturbing military events and international complications as to make it an epoch-making period.

Seated on the Niagara Frontier is one of the belligerent powers, whose citizens and resources are being poured out in behalf of the allies in a war, the most disastrous and destructive the world has ever known. Fortunately for us, our own nation is not directly involved in these hostilities, and its activities may be directed towards the promotion of peace and the settlement of all international controversies by permanently established and maintained courts of arbitration. That has been the occasion of the formation of several organizations in this country, whose mission and purposes were for the inculcation of the principles underlying the procedure in courts for the arbitrament of international difficulties. Such a movement took definite form in this city several years ago, and culminated in the Peace Day exercises of the public and parochial educational institutions in Buffalo on February 17, 1915, on the centenary of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent by the United States. The address delivered by your president on that occasion was distributed among the high school, collegiate and professional students of the educational institutions in this city. In that may be found a summary of many treaties and an outline of diplomatic procedure followed in settling controversies and negotiating treaties between the United States and other nations.

This phase of international law is likely to assume increasing importance as a result of the fearful and appalling ravages of the existing European war.

Senator Elihu Root, speaking recently before the Pan-American Scientific Congress and the American Society of International Law in Washington, D. C., is reported to have said: "There is some reason to think that after the terrible experience through which civilization is passing, there will be a tendency to strengthen rather than abandon the law of nations. * * * We may hope that there will be a great departure to escape destruction by subjecting the nations to the rule of law." Let us hope that will be the sequel of the European war.

WORK OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The work of this Society has gone on during the year with its accustomed regularity and fidelity to the purposes of its founders. This Society is winning general recognition throughout the country on account of the historical importance and literary excellence of its publications. Mr. Severance, the secretary, has compiled and edited the 19th volume of the Publications, now in press, and has also made much progress on his forthcoming history of the French period, which promises to be a valuable contribution to the literature of that period.

The lecture course has been maintained and well attended. Most of the lectures have been illustrated with lantern-slide views of places and photographs of groups of the persons mentioned in the lectures, which have increased popular interest in the subject matters treated. A list of these for the year will appear elsewhere in the record of these annual proceedings.

NOTABLE GIFTS.

The Society has been the recipient of many gifts during the year relating to the history of this region. Its accumulated material is becoming more valuable and useful from year to year and its library, now numbering forty thousand volumes and manuscripts (including the Lord Library), its archives and other possessions are consulted by Buffalonians and others, increasingly from year to year.

Among the gifts of the year is that of General Francis V. Greene, who presented his valuable library of books, reports and other material relating to the several wars, in which this nation has been engaged. These comprise 800 volumes or more, and add materially to the Society's possessions of war records and literature on that subject. We are deeply grateful to General Greene, who takes a deep interest in the activities of this Society. Other gifts are acknowledged elsewhere in these proceedings, for all of which the Board of Managers are grateful. These annual contributions to the Society's possessions are making them of great interest to the people of this city, for there is no place elsewhere to preserve and perpetuate the essentials of its history and that of its successive generations of inhabitants.

THE CANAL REFERENDUM.

The secretary will mention some of the important events of the year in his report. Among such events was the passage through the Legislature and approved by the people of the Canal Referendum

measure, authorizing the issue and sale of State bonds not exceeding \$27,000,000 to complete the Erie, Oswego and Champlain barge canals. Such completion is of such vital interest to the commercial and industrial growth of this port; your president was so actively identified with the matter and considers it of such historical importance, that some mention ought to be made of it on this occasion and especially so in consideration of the provision of the Certificate of Incorporation of this Society, which in substance says that statistics shall be gathered of the commerce, manufactures and business of the lake region and those portions of the West that are intimately connected with the interests of Buffalo. The prospective barge-canal traffic will undoubtedly greatly augment the water-borne commerce of this port. Most of the statistics of such matters to date are contained in Federal and State and other reports deposited in the library and will continue in the future to be so preserved.

The Canal Referendum of 1915 was made necessary on account of the insufficiency of the one hundred and one millions authorized in 1903 to pay the entire cost of construction, and also the unforeseen land and other damages incident to the prosecution of such a gigantic work as barge-canal construction has proven to be. The increased cost of labor and materials over the prevailing prices, when the estimates were made in 1903; the reduction of the hours of labor from ten to eight hours, constituting a day's work; the decisions of the courts in regard to riparian rights; and the State's obligation to bear the expense of rebuilding railroad bridges over the canals and the approaches thereto, and other unforeseen liabilities arising in the prosecution of the building of these waterways, all contributed to the excess in cost over the estimates, though it may be said that the actual cost of construction alone is within ten per cent. of the estimates, a result quite unusual in undertakings of such magnitude and extending over a decade and supervised by alternating political parties. The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce took a leading part in the organization and in the conduct of the canal campaign.

I was called to Albany and assisted in drafting the canal referendum, which passed the Legislature of 1915, and was approved at the general election of that year by a majority vote of 44,917, after a State-wide campaign extending over several months. The campaign was conducted by a State Canal Committee of which Hon. Seth Low of New York was chairman and by committees in each judicial district and in all the large cities.

The active campaign was conducted by a Sub-Executive Committee of which Commissioner R. A. C. Smith of New York was chairman,

Henry W. Hill, President of the New York State Waterways Association, of Buffalo, was vice-chairman, Hon. Frank S. Gardner of New York was secretary and Eugenius H. Outerbridge of New York was treasurer. Hon. Frank Brainard of New York was chairman of the Finance Committee. Buffalo was represented on the committee by Herbert A. Meldrum, President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and Col. Charles Lee Abell, chairman of the Eighth Judicial District Canal Committee. Howard J. Smith of Buffalo was in charge of the Publicity Bureau. Hon. George A. Davis of Lancaster, N. Y., was chairman of the committee of Western New York. Many Buffalonians participated in the campaign. Among these were Hon. George Clinton, Sr., William A. Rogers, Dudley H. Irwin, Hon. John G. Wickser, William H. Crosby, Charles Kennedy and many others, who in various ways supported the Referendum Measure.

The organization of such committees and the campaign itself extended over the entire six months intervening between the adjournment of the Legislature and the election on November 2, 1915. Approximately \$6,000,000 of the \$27,000,000 are appropriated to be expended in completing the Erie Barge canal between the Three River Point and the Niagara river, which is of great interest to Buffalo. Approximately one-half of the amount voted is to pay land damages and the remainder is to be expended for equipment, construction and other obligations incident to the project. On account of its direct relation to the commerce of Buffalo, I have considered it proper to make record of the measure and the active campaign conducted in its behalf.

The construction work will go forward as soon as bonds can be sold and contracts let. It is expected that the Erie, Oswego and the Champlain barge canals will be completed and ready for use in 1918.

COMMERCE OF THE PORT OF BUFFALO.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo in flour, grain and ores in 1915, was greater than for several years past, while the shipments were smaller than they were a year ago. The principal receipts for 1915 were: grains, including flour treated as grain, 221,403,059 bushels, while in 1914, they aggregated 153,208,987 bushels, and in 1913 they totaled 179,884,771 bushels. The receipts of iron ores aggregated in 1915, 5,328,608 tons; in 1914, 2,882,030 tons; and in 1913, 5,208,430 tons. Receipts of lumber and shingles were greater in 1915 than in 1914, and shingles also greater than in 1913.

The shipments of coal totaled in 1915, 3,864,072 tons; in 1914, 4,385,228 tons; and in 1913, 5,033,696 tons. The shipments of

cement amounted in 1915, to 41,380 barrels; in 1914, to 155,478 barrels; and in 1913, to 334,864 barrels. Shipments of salt in 1915, amounted to 266,131 barrels; in 1914, to 309,646 barrels; and in 1913, to 259,664 barrels. Of sugar, in 1915, to 542,695 barrels; in 1914, to 847,005 barrels; and in 1913, to 1,216,403 barrels.

The foregoing items are only the principal elements of lake traffic. There were many others. In addition to the large lake commerce was the traffic over the Erie canal, aggregating possibly two million tons, consisting of some of the same traffic as lake commerce and in addition thereto a variety of minor commodities produced or consumed within the State.

The lake receipts were 13,700,000 tons, and lake shipments were 4,006,190 tons, making the entire lake commerce 17,706,190 tons passing into and out of this port, exclusive of canal tonnage. This water-borne tonnage is additional to the railway tonnage, which was much greater.

BUFFALO'S NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

In surveying the record of the past year we find that the change in the municipal government of Buffalo from a representative form, as that is generally understood, and as it has existed since the enactment of its original charter in 1832, to the so-called commission form of government, is the most notable event that has occurred in the history of this city. Under the original and amended charters the city grew in 84 years from a small city, of a population in 1832 of 10,119 inhabitants, to a large municipality in 1915, with a population of 461,888 inhabitants.

Buffalo is the largest city in population that has as yet adopted the commission form of government. The operation of this latest type of municipal government in a city, where the opportunities for reform were few, and at a period when municipal government in America had been shown not to have been entirely efficient and wholly successful, is a matter of deep concern to the people. They will quite naturally institute comparisons between it and municipal government under the charter of 1891, which was prepared with such care, and pronounced at the time one of the best in the country. A voluntary commission, comprising many of Buffalo's foremost citizens, worked months in formulating the charter of 1891, under which its municipal affairs have been administered for a quarter of a century.

During that period advances have been made in all governmental agencies and especially in those that are designed to bring to higher

standards of efficiency the instrumentalities of local government. The tendency in recent years, however, towards the centralization of delegated power in the few, who are made responsible to the many, is quite as pronounced in governmental as in business affairs.

It was believed by a majority of the voters of this city that the responsibility of the conduct of local government might be wisely committed to a councilmanic board elected at large, exercising both executive and legislative powers, and that such a polity will increase the efficiency and lessen the cost of government. This is a radical departure from the long established American theory of the separation of these two functions of government by the election of officers to administer the executive functions, who take no part in its legislative affairs.

Attention was called to the operation of commission government in Des Moines, Denver, Galveston and elsewhere, in urging the adoption of the commission charter for this city, which was drafted by Carlos C. Alden, Dean of the Buffalo Law School, and at one time the legal adviser to Governor Charles E. Hughes. While this new form of municipal government may not have been entirely free of legal and other complications, and of occasional miscarriages of enlightened public sentiment, it has steadily grown in popular favor and is in operation in four cities in this State, and in one or more cities of a majority of all the states of the United States of America. Approximately ten millions of people in the United States are under the commission form of government. It may be too early to forecast its operation in a city as large as Buffalo with its diversified and multiplying activities and increasing burdens, which may overtax the endurance of any five commissioners, howsoever able and conscientious they may be in the performance of their respective duties.

Our honorable councilmen need the support and co-operation of the people of this city, whose welfare to some extent may be promoted by the successful administration of the city government in all its departments. All good citizens bespeak for the Mayor and the four councilmen a fair opportunity to work out the new and weighty problems confronting them before passing judgment upon their administration.

This transition from the old to the new order of things in municipal affairs is the chief event of 1915, in the history of Buffalo.

THE CIVIC GOVERNMENT DINNER.

On the evening of January 8, 1916, a Civic Government dinner was tendered by the Engineering Society of Buffalo, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, Optimists' Club of Buffalo, Buffalo Ad Club, Greater Buffalo Club, Rotary Club of Buffalo, Purchasing Agents' Association of Buffalo, Buffalo Association of Credit Men, Builders' Exchange Association and their members, to Mayor Louis P. Fuhrmann and to the four councilmen, Hon. Charles M. Heald, Hon. Charles B. Hill, Hon. Arthur W. Kreinheder, and Hon. John F. Malone, in the celebration of the commencement of the commission government in this city. Several hundred prominent residents of this city, whose names appear in a printed list deposited in the office of this Society, were in attendance and were addressed by Mayor Fuhrmann, by Hon. Myron R. Herrick of Ohio, former Governor and Ambassador to the Republic of France; by former United States Senator William E. Mason of Illinois, and Hon. Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York. The post-prandial exercises were presided over by Herbert A. Meldrum, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Buffalo.

MEMBERSHIP.

The loss by death to the membership has exceeded that of any other year. The names of the deceased members will appear in the secretary's report. Their interest in this organization was manifested in many ways and especially in their long membership in it. Although the roll of the dead be unusually lengthy, the additions to the membership outnumber the losses. May we not urge upon all good citizens the importance of sustaining this organization and its good work. It is a public institution, but still it is a private corporation in some of its activities and must be supported financially, if it is to continue its valuable publications, maintain its interesting lecture courses and carry on its historical activities. The expenses of these are borne by the Society itself. Its publications alone ought to be considered a full return for annual dues. They are continually increasing in value under the scholarly editorial supervision of Dr. Frank H. Severance, our secretary.

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES.

The Buffalo Historical Society is performing a public service of incalculable value to this community. It is the repository of the records of its family, business and official life. Here are collated, indexed and preserved genealogical and historical data of almost

priceless value to the people and to the future historian of this region.

Historical work has taken on intensive analytical research as well as synthetic methods, as disclosed in voluminous reports, monographs and publications generally, and this Society is doing its part in these modern ways to awaken deep interest in all that pertains to the history of the Niagara Frontier. There is being added yearly material to the accumulations of former years, until every important phase of local history may be elucidated by these for school children and others, studious to learn about episodes and thrilling events, which have given the Niagara Frontier prominence in American history. In this limited field of its activities, this Society is doing a work that will be enduring. The members of the Board of Managers, who direct its activities, and others who share in its work, are doing what they can to bring within the reach of all a better knowledge of the facts, conditions and circumstances forming the background of the history of this region. All these have exerted some influence in the evolution of American institutions.

At conferences of historical societies, attention has been directed to the importance of a systematic plan for pursuing all sources of information that are discoverable and for the publication of such matter as is the result of a carefully matured plan, comprehensive in scope and capable of indefinite expansion, and including limited epochs and successive phases of the history of a region. It may not be possible for us to follow any inelastic plan with the material available for publication, but several phases of local history have already been systematically covered in our publications, which have been prepared with care and skill, so that we are conforming to the most approved historical, critical canons, prescribed for historical publications. Our publications are sought by libraries, institutions and writers the country over and have had and are having a gratifying sale.

During the past year the Board of Managers have devoted much time to the consideration of the affairs of the Buffalo Historical Society, which are in a perfectly normal condition as will be disclosed in the reports of the secretary and treasurer. To them I am deeply grateful for their wise counsel in relation to the conduct of the administrative duties that have devolved upon myself and other officers of the Society.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 11, 1916

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

I may preface what I have to say about the various activities of this institution during 1915, with a repetition of the assurance which I have made in some previous reports: The Historical Society, now 54 years old, is well and happy, and expects to live long and prosper.

In thus paraphrasing Joe Jefferson's *Rip Van Winkle*, I do not overlook the fact that we have just come through a rather difficult year. An uncommon number of otherwise worthy citizens have persisted in such reluctance to pay their dues that in several cases the secretary has had to drop them. It is a common experience in all institutions, and we continue in the conviction that fewer are thus dropped from our rolls than in most societies.

To offset this I should add that in but one year of the Society's history have the collections for dues exceeded those of 1915.

LOSSES BY DEATH.

Never before in one year has the Society lost so many members by death. As the following list shows, most of these lamented friends had filled a large and useful place in the community:

Jan. 12	Samuel H. Wilkeson.....	Life	Member
18	Joseph T. Cook, M. D.....	Annual	"
Mar. 2	James A. Pierce.....	"	"
Apr. 16	John H. Smith.....	"	"
19	Percy C. Marvin.....	"	"
19	Mrs. Robt. D. Young.....	"	"
May 9	Rt. Rev. Charles H. Colton.	"	"
12	Nathan Wolff.....	"	"
16	Seymour H. Knox.....	Life	"
25	George R. Teller.....	Annual	"
June 11	William B. Hoyt.....	"	"
18	Merritt Nichols.....	"	"
24	William Lautz.....	Life	"
July 9	Francis A. Crandall.....	Corresponding	"
Aug. 25	William Edward Foster...	Annual	"
Sept. 22	Charles E. Williams.....	"	"
23	Hobart Weed.....	"	"

Oct. 7	Alfred G. Hauenstein.....	Annual	Member
10	Eben O. McNair.....	"	"
15	Robert Keating.....	"	"
17	Mrs. Frank H. Goodyear..	Life	"
20	Robert L. Fryer.....	Annual	"
Nov. 11	Harry Earl Montgomery..	"	"
15	James C. Beecher.....	"	"
16	Col. Francis G. Ward.....	"	"
Dec. 18	William H. Gardner.....	"	"
22	Duane B. Tuttle.....	"	"

During the year we have added five new life members and thirty annual members.

STATE OF THE BUILDING.

The state of our building is in the main satisfactory. No extensive repair work or alteration has been necessary. Several new steam radiators were installed, with good results. Necessary repairs are now being made and new fittings installed in the men's toilet. Some outlay will soon be necessary on the lighting system. In this connection I call your attention to the copper stain on the abutments of the north steps, which support the old Italian candelabra. Ordinary methods of cleaning do not remove this stain, which seems to strike deep into the marble. The question is submitted, whether it will not be better to remove these beautiful and valuable relics to the museum, where they will be better preserved than is possible if they remain exposed to the freezing and thawing of many Buffalo winters; and substitute for them, at the entrance to the steps, modern candelabra which will not stain the marble.

During the summer the library walls and ceiling were painted, bookcases provided for a special collection, and a new catalogue cabinet added to the equipment. New cases were provided for the museum.

NOTABLE GIFTS.

The year has been abundant in gifts. While many of them are of a minor character, all are welcome, most of them adding to the attractiveness of our library or museum, and some of them are notable.

A much-prized gift is the bronze portrait-bust of Buffalo's Irish poet, Mr. James N. Johnston, which stands in our memorial court, near the bust of Oliver Wendell Holmes. The bust of Mr. Johnston was modeled by a talented young woman of Buffalo, Miss Anna

Glenny, whose Paris studies were in part under the sculptor, Emile Antoine Bourdelle, a pupil of Rodin. Something of this master's strength is seen in Miss Glenny's thoroughly artistic and successful work. The bust is a gift to this Society from Mrs. John G. Milburn.

The large and excellent portrait of William G. Fargo, former mayor of Buffalo and president of the American Express Co., which hangs at the right of the lecture-room platform, is the gift of the American Express Co., through its president, Mr. George C. Taylor. Mr. Fargo was a life member of this Society.

Among other portraits received during the year were those of Bradford A. Manchester, a former prominent publisher and businessman, the gift of his daughter, Miss Grace Manchester; Mr. and Mrs. George Hedge, and George Field Hedge, gifts of Caroline A. Hedge; S. V. R. Watson, from Mrs. S. S. Spaulding; Lucius H. Phillips; Police Justice Thomas S. King, from his daughter, Mrs. C. B. Sherwood; and Peter Stephenson, from the estate of Mrs. Stephenson.

Mr. William A. Galpin has made numerous fine additions to his collections. He has greatly enriched our museum with antiques and articles of early day use, including porcelains, old pewter, etc. Several notable additions have been made to his collection of engravings illustrating American history. It is one of the most attractive and valued features of our museum.

Mr. Harry A. Bliss has made fine additions to our collection of views of early Buffalo buildings. A very welcome gift was a set of boundary survey charts, thirty in number, showing the international line through the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes. This was the gift of Hon. George Clinton, who also presented numerous reports and other books of value. One of these is the text of the Constitution of the State of New York, as adopted in convention in September last, but subsequently not ratified by the people on election day. It is handsomely printed on deckel-edged paper, with portraits and facsimile signatures of all members of the Constitutional Convention, and bound, a sumptuous folio, in full purple morocco with the seal of the State in white and gold.

Several hundred books and pamphlets, of varying value, have been added to our library. From Gen. Francis V. Greene were received 813 volumes and pamphlets, mostly relating to the history of wars in which the United States has been engaged. Numerous engravings, photographs, and etchings of war scenes, and portraits of commanding generals of the army of the United States, from Washington to Schofield, accompanied the gift. An alcove in the library has been

devoted to these books and pictures, and the cases containing them are marked "General Francis V. Greene Collection."

The total number of catalogued accessions to the library during 1915, was 1,445, of which most came by gift. The total number of catalogued volumes in the library on December 31st was 24,409; or including the Lord and special collections, about 40,000. The most notable purchase during the year was the series, "The Makers of Canada," in 21 volumes.

Numerous manuscripts of historical value have been acquired. From Mrs. Alice M. Evans Bartlett and Mrs. Virginia Evans Devreux were received a collection of letters and other MSS., formerly owned by the late Charles W. Evans, relating to the Holland Land Co. and the early history of Buffalo. A typewritten copy of the original records of the First Presbyterian Church was received from Mr. Charles J. North; from Mr. William F. Wright, autograph letters of President Benjamin Harrison; from Mr. G. Barrett Rich, Sr., a number of Holland Land Co. deeds; from Mr. Ottomar Reinecke, an interesting old record book: "Journal des Deutschen Singvereins von Buffalo," 1844; and from Mr. E. H. Behling, a miscellaneous collection of autographs of celebrities, in four volumes.

Several gifts were of articles of personal association with former prominent citizens of Buffalo. Of this sort are a goldheaded cane, made from wood of Washington's tomb; another with ivory head, from wood of Perry's flagship *Lawrence*, both formerly owned and carried by a distinguished citizen of the earlier Buffalo, Noah P. Sprague, and given to us by Mr. Carleton Sprague. From the same donor came still another cane, with carved ivory head, formerly belonging to Dr. Thomas Lothrop. Dr. Carlos E. Cummings gives the saddlebags and old doctor's kit carried by his grandfather, Dr. Carlos Emmons of Springville, three quarters of a century ago. Mr. William G. Justice presents a gold watch which his father gave him and which his grandfather gave to his father, in 1812.

From the estate of James L. Pease we received by bequest a piano of very early make, said to have been the second piano brought to Buffalo.

Further enumeration is not here attempted. A careful record is kept of every gift.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

The course of entertainments provided for members is of the same general character as in previous years. Illustrated travel talks are not very difficult to provide. It is sometimes difficult to find speakers

who really have a message. An effort is made to provide entertainments of an historical character, and still to offer a reasonable variety. The attendance as a rule is excellent—sometimes beyond the capacity of our lecture-hall; and thereby we conclude that our members in general are pleased with what we offer them.

Entertainments given during 1915 included the following:

- Jan. 5—Illustrated Lecture: "Philippine Education and Philippine Independence.".....*Paul Monroe, Ph. D.*
 Jan. 19—Illustrated Talk: "Portraits of Former Bufaloniens.".....*Mr. Frank M. Hollister*
 Feb. 9—Illustrated Lecture: "Lincoln and the National Capital.".....*Frederick L. Fishback*
 Feb. 23—Illustrated Lecture: "Ireland.".....*Rev. John Black*
 Mar. 16—Illustrated Lecture: "Belgium, the Awakening of the Workers.".....*Jerome Hall Raymond, Ph. D.*
 Mar. 30—Memorial Evening:
 "The late J. N. Larned".....*John B. Olmsted*
 "The late Henry A. Richmond".....*Henry E. Howland*
 Apr. 13—Illustrated Travel Talk: "Castles in Spain.".....*Lee H. Smith, M. D.*
 Nov. 2—Illustrated Lecture: "Travels in Syria.".....*Mrs. Charles E. Rhodes*
 Nov. 9—"The Naval War Abroad.".....*Henry Reuterdahl*
 Nov. 23—Illustrated Lecture: "A Thousand Miles down the Tigris River.".....*Dr. Edgar J. Banks*
 Dec. 7—Illustrated Travel Talk: "A Motor Trip to the French and Italian Rivieras."....*Miss E. E. Zimmermann*
 Dec. 16—Illustrated Lecture: "The Romance of Human Civilization.".....*B. E. Baumgardt*

There were numerous other gatherings in our building, always including the annual commencement of Public School 21, on Hertel Avenue, which has no adequate assembly room of its own, and which for several years we have welcomed to the Historical Building.

In August, the secretary accepted an invitation to give the address at the annual reunion of the Tuscarora Indians, on their reservation, near Sanborn, Niagara County. He chose for his subject, "The Story of the Tuscaroras," and the address was given August 26th, under rather picturesque conditions, in a fine maple grove on the reservation, to a large audience, embracing perhaps as many whites as Indians. In preparing the address, my interest was specially awakened in the migrations of the Tuscaroras, and I have since made

the matter a subject of some research. My revised study, expanded beyond the limits of the original address, will be available for an early volume of the Society's Publications.

The publication work has as usual engrossed the greater part of the secretary's time. Volume XIX. is now in press, and unless the printers and binders are dilatory, will be in the hands of our members in a few weeks.

The preparation of a narrative history of the Niagara and Lower Lakes region under the French, has been continued. So vast—and often, so difficult—is the mass of material to be studied, that progress is slow, and at times the task has seemed endless. It is, however, drawing to an end, and as soon as other duties permit, the matter of publication will be taken up. The work in its present form will probably make two volumes of the usual size of our publications. During the summer I secured a few days for work on documentary sources in the Archives at Ottawa, but was unable to complete the necessary study of material. With the sanction of the Board I hope to make another visit at an early date.

A good many points in our early history have been established as never before. I have carried the history of Buffalo—the white man's history of the region—back 27 years earlier than has hitherto been known. Every existing history begins the story of our city with Middaugh, Lane, or Winne, none of whom are known to have been here before 1784. I find documentary proof that a white man erected buildings and tilled the soil within the present city limits, in 1758.

Another point relates to the first expedition of white men through what is now Chautauqua County, including the discovery of Chautauqua Lake. The accepted date for that expedition and discovery is 1749. I am able to present from original documents some account of an expedition from Fort Niagara to the Ohio, by way of Chautauqua Lake, in 1739.

These are but sample facts. By the aid of many journals and much official correspondence, until now absolutely unused in connection with our regional history, I have been able to trace the events, especially of the first half of the 18th century, and to show how rich in incident were those years the story of which has for the most part until now been left a blank, or dismissed in a few general statements, in large part inaccurate.

The secretary knows of no other service which he can render to this Society, more important or more valuable, than the completion of this work.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,

Secretary.

Messrs. A. H. Briggs, M. D., John G. Wickser, Lee H. Smith, M. D., Willis O. Chapin and William A. Galpin, were reëlected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing four years.

At the annual election of officers, January 14, 1916, the officers of the preceding year were reëlected.

FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 9, 1917

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 9, 1917; at which, after approving the minutes of the preceding annual meeting, Dr. A. H. Briggs was called to the chair; and President Henry W. Hill delivered his annual address, which here follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Officers and Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society is in itself proof that its founders foresaw the necessity for such an institution, else it had not survived its struggles for more than half a century. They saw that there was a work to be performed in this city, not within the scope of any then-existing institution. They laid its foundation on broad and progressive principles that

“Age cannot wither, nor custom stale.”

With Lord Bacon, they realized that “Histories make men wise” and that the discovery and preservation of the indisputable facts of history, their collation, classification and correlation involve exhaustive research, critical discrimination and mature judgment. This territory was largely unexplored, though rich in material still to be put into available form for preservation and use. Nature had so fashioned the region, with its St. Lawrence valley extending from the ocean to the Great Lakes basin, that from the time of its aboriginal occupation, the Niagara Frontier had been a highway of travel and trade and a route for military and other expeditions from the seaboard to the interior of the country, then a trackless wilderness. This frontier region was also in the route of the pioneers from New England and eastern New York in their journeys through central New York westward to its western sections and to Ohio and the territory beyond.

Niagara Falls themselves were sufficiently alluring to draw lovers of nature's grandeur in thousands and tens of thousands yearly.

Furthermore, Buffalo, a great railway distributing point, was so uniquely situated at the western terminus of the Erie Canal and at

the foot of the Great Lakes, whose commerce it would receive, that it was destined to become one of the largest inland ports of the world, as it has become.

PUBLICATION PROJECTS.

All these matters had an important bearing upon the establishment of this Society; and its proceedings, publications and archives bear witness to their importance in molding our civil institutions. They directly concern the common weal and in their evolution we are interested. If we trace their development for two centuries, we may learn how intimately the Niagara Frontier has been involved in the life of the state and nation. The entire village of Buffalo was laid waste in the War of 1812. Fort Niagara dates back to 1726, when it was constructed under the supervision of Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, the chief engineer in Canada of Louis XV, King of France. The history of its construction and the mission of Longueuil to the Senecas to secure their consent to its erection is graphically described by Dr. Frank H. Severance in his "Story of Joncaire," appearing in Volume IX of this Society's Publications. It is such publications as this that adds interest to the activities of this Society; and fortunate are we in having now in our possession the fruits of his tireless efforts in making available documentary material from widely separated sources, as are those of that work, relating to the Niagara Frontier. Those of you, who have not already read it, have in prospect a story that is as interesting as any romance. That is one of many papers, contained in the Society's Publications, that cannot fail to interest its members and all students of history of this eventful region.

METHODS OF HISTORICAL STUDY.

History has become more than a mirror that merely reflects objects, as characterized by Alphonse Marie Louis Lamartine. Under modern historical methods of investigation, assimilation and production, it is the marshaling of events with due regard to the forces that produced them in such manner as to give proper weight and proportion to the complex factors entering into the result, that makes for or against the progress of civilization in its most enlightened form. I am not unconscious of the reconstruction of historical standards, nor of the movement among some writers to undermine the very structure of civilization itself. But we need not be disturbed by this latter school of critics. We are essentially agreed that right will prevail and that social forces, predicated on any other postulate,

cannot long endure. In analyzing the actions of men and the social or other movements of communities, we are prone to search for their motives and to ascertain whether or not their activities contributed to the advancement of the *genus homo* in his progress towards higher ideals and a nobler life, wherein he may enjoy freedom of action and belief under a system of law that guarantees to all protection and equality of opportunity, as in well governed democracies; for the exercise of which freedom of action and belief man was endowed by his Creator with infinite faculties.

Hitherto some historians have disregarded the rights of the masses in their struggles for enfranchisement, and have written from the narrow view-point of the few, siding with this or that faction and coloring their partial record, in such manner as to make it almost worthless. It is not necessary to cite examples of such treatment of historical data; and that is the principal reason for revolt against many historians and the return to a saner and wiser method of dealing with periods of history, that has led to the re-investigation of the original sources of history, in which this Society has ever been engaged.

Data, thus collated, are as free as possible of extraneous matter and become invaluable in the interpretation of individual, racial and national activities. These are some of the essentials of history and indicate the advance made in the methods of historical research during the last half century. There is little opportunity in such work for the exercise of that academic freedom and for the wide excursions of the imagination, that have characterized and made almost worthless the voluminous, encyclopædic productions of some writers in the past.

Professor H. Morse Stephens, President of the American Historical Association, in his address before that Association in 1915, said:

"Every generation writes its own history of the past. It is not so much the acquisition or mastery of new material as the changing attitude of each generation that causes the perpetual rewriting of the long story of man living in community with his fellow men. Each generation looks at the past from a different angle, and the historian is inevitably controlled by the spirit of his age. Every historian is unconsciously biased by his education and surroundings and in his historical works displays not only his interpretation of the past, but also the point of view of the period in which he lives. . . . To understand the writings of any historian, we of today know that our first duty is to study his personality and the point of view of his age. We no longer believe in the veracity of Thucydides or Tacitus: We

know that the great Athenian colored his facts to make a dramatic story and that the great Roman satirist and rhetorician was of a race of pamphleteers, more intent to score the failings of the rulers of a past generation and to insinuate their shortcomings than to recognize the way in which the early Roman Emperors and their imperial system maintained the peace and order of the Mediterranean world."

We may not at first agree with Professor Stephens in his survey of the conditions affecting the writings of historians, but the more we familiarize ourselves with the periods of history hitherto treated and subject such treatment to the results of recent explorations, researches and discoveries, the more likely we are to concur in his opinion.

The well-directed investigations and exhaustive researches hitherto made and still being made to ascertain additional historical data, throw much light on those periods of history explored, and have already largely augmented the fund of information essential for a comprehensive review of such periods. In a less conspicuous manner, we are pursuing our investigations and are augmenting our possessions relevant to the Niagara Frontier, the history of which largely engages the activities of this Society. We are not likely to fall into the error of depending upon others for our facts. Our archives are rich in material relating to the region, which is being increased yearly.

PHASES OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

In some other countries in times past, it has been quite the custom of one school of writers of history to draw liberally from the works of other schools without making re-investigation of their historical sources, and in that manner the German school of antiquarian investigators at one time dominated the English writers, giving undue prominence in some instances to Anglo-Saxon origins of societies and institutions and but scant recognition to Celtic, Latin and Roman influences that had left enduring remains in the English language and in the laws and institutions of Great Britain. Those may be discovered and traced to their original sources through modern methods of historical research. That is a further evidence of their superiority over those methods that obtained in the first half of the 19th century. Then dogma precluded research and a few writers with knowledge, somewhat superficial, of the essentials of a territory or a period, but with an arrogance that was assuring to the unwary, dominated the historical works of the time. All such territories and periods must now be largely re-examined to arrive at a full under-

standing of their history. Some writers in their misconception of the scope of academic freedom have made a liberal use of the imagination to bridge over difficult periods, that research alone can span. This may be illustrated by the work done in some ancient empires to fill in data to complete their history, and in this respect we have been impressed with the investigations made in Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and the Mediterranean coasts and islands, some of the results of which are to be seen in European museums, and in American collections at Yale, Chicago, Brooklyn, New York and elsewhere.

Professor Albert T. Clay of Yale has now at New Haven his collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities and original texts of great historical value, some of which have recently been published, throwing further light on the rulers and the activities of those great empires. Recently the Wilbour Egyptian collection of antiquities and library of 2,500 volumes on Egyptology have been presented by the children of the late Charles E. Wilbour to the Brooklyn Museum. That is said to be second in importance in this country only to the Egyptian collection at Chicago University. Mr. Wilbour's study of hieroglyphics, under Professor Gaston Maspero and also during a long life spent in Egypt in research work, made him one of the most noted Egyptologists of the age. His work, collection and large library illustrate the possibilities of fruitful results in the study of history from original sources.

The reading of the words on Egyptian mummy labels, attached to human remains sent to remote necropolises beyond the annually inundated territory of the Nile for burial, and the reading of the words on papyrus scrolls, add some information in relation to individual family, industrial and professional life in mystical Egypt. The conversion of her desert sands into productive areas, her varied artistic achievements and phenomenal history, are matters of ever-increasing wonderment to the peoples of other ages.

The recent additions to the Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum in New York tend still further to show the results of the wide range of Egyptian research investigations going on in that historical region.

It may be said that all such matters fall within the domain of archaeology, which is epitomized history, but they indicate the deep interest of students and others in exploring the records of the past. The following will illustrate how such research work contributes to our knowledge of pre-existing institutions and ancient civilizations:

Professor Vincent Scheil discovered a tablet containing the names of the rulers of six dynasties prior to Hammurapi, which has made it

possible to push back Babylonian dates definitely to about 3000 B. C., so as to include 32 new rulers preceding the dynasty of Hammurapi.

We now have the Hammurapi code in its entirety. It comprises 282 sections and is one of the most comprehensive and complete practical codes of law in existence. Some of its provisions were embodied in later systems of laws. Its discovery was one of the most remarkable in recent years. The sources of that code were found on a block of black diorite then in fragments, at Susa, by De Morgan in December, 1901, and January, 1902; and published by the French Ministry of Instruction after reproduction by a process of photogravure. The monument comprised 44 columns which were inscribed with 3,600 lines, constituting the Hammurapi code. This was transcribed and translated by Professor Vincent Scheil, and throws a flood of light on Babylonian legal procedure, laws and institutions at the remote period of 2250 B. C. Its discovery was as important to history as that of the Rosetta Stone found near the mouth of the Nile by Bussard, a French officer under Napoleon, in 1799, which enabled Champollion to decipher ancient Egyptian monuments. These two important discoveries made by the French have opened up both Babylonian and Egyptian antiquities to further investigations, which will undoubtedly necessitate the rewriting of their histories. What is true of the discoveries in Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, is also true of those in other regions, including some in the Western Hemisphere, where there have been found many ruins of ancient civilizations long since passed away. The history of some of these regions may be pushed back centuries in the light of recent discoveries.

All these serve to illustrate the way that history is made and the occasion for its being rewritten. Our knowledge of pre-existing institutions is being amplified. Time and tide await no man. Events crowd upon one another in rapid succession. The triumphs and conquests of today will be matters of history tomorrow, and we must make record now while material is at hand, for that will soon become fugitive and as elusive as the vague impressions of bygone years.

WORK OF THE BUFFALO SOCIETY.

One of the functions of this Society is to "preserve authentic memorials of the settlement of this city and county," and we are solicitous of procuring all such material as may contribute to that end. Public documents and official records, manuscripts, maps, private journals and family registers, and also portraits, personal letters and papers and individual collections such as those recently presented to this Society by General Francis V. Greene, William A.

Galpin, Dilworth M. Silver, Mrs. Frederick H. Stevens and others, are desired. All these enrich the Society's already valuable collections and will be preserved for all time, we trust, in this "grand repository of everything calculated to throw light on our history," as this Society was styled by Mr. Fillmore in his inaugural address as its first President.

This repository will continue to grow in importance as its collections increase. Here may be securely deposited whatever relates to the founding and growth of Buffalo and of the communities along the Niagara Frontier. Family genealogies and individual biographies may also find safe keeping within its walls. All these are earnestly solicited and will be catalogued and made available for future use.

A record of the activities of the people and organizations of this municipality may be safely preserved in this fireproof building. The Buffalo Historical Society, now maintained as are other municipal institutions, is devoting its activities to the preservation of whatever properly relates to the upbuilding of the city. All such matters as relate to the social, political, industrial and commercial life of Buffalo, come properly within its purview.

BUFFALO AS HOST IN 1916.

Buffalo, under the sagacious outlook of its Chamber of Commerce, is fast becoming a center for scores of conventions annually. During the month of July, 1916, the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine and the Imperial Council of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Mystic Shrine held their 42d Annual Convention in this city, when 263,000 or more members of the order, their families and friends, congregated here from all parts of the United States. They brought with them 87 bands of music and represented 119 different Temples out of 139 in the country. The weather was warmer than it is usual for it to be here in July, but high temperature prevailed generally throughout the United States during July and August. The visitors enjoyed the city and the hospitality afforded them by the Ismailia Temple and other organizations and by the people of the city. The incoming of so many visitors in a single week taxed Buffalo's accommodations to their full extent. It was the largest convention of the Order ever held in America, and most of the visitors were pleased with the entertainment provided for them. Among the speakers were His Excellency Charles S. Whitman, Governor of the State of New York; Hon. Louis P. Fuhrmann, Mayor of Buffalo; J. Putnam Stevens, Imperial Potentate, of Portland, Maine; Henry F. Niedringhaus, Imperial Potentate-elect, St. Louis, Mo.; and others. Many spoke in high

praise of the executive management of Mr. George K. Staples, general chairman, and of the work of Dr. John T. Claris, Potentate of Ismailia Temple, and the committees in charge of the arrangements, and also of Chief Martin and the Buffalo police force. It was the largest three-day convention ever held in Buffalo, and made large demands on the members of Ismailia Temple and the citizens of Buffalo, but all expenses incident to the convention were promptly paid.

During the last week of November, 1916, the New York State Teachers' Association convened in this city and brought academic and public school teachers from all parts of the State to present, discuss and consider all phases of educational matters, so far as they were involved in the public schools of the State. It was reported at the time that four thousand teachers and administrative officers were in attendance. They were addressed by Hon. Louis P. Fuhrmann, Mayor of Buffalo; Hon. Henry P. Emerson, Superintendent of Education of Buffalo; Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris, of Michigan; Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education; Dr. W. D. Guthrie, Professor of International Law of the College of the City of New York; Miss Sarah Louise Arnold, Dean of Simmons College at Boston; Edward H. Sothorn, the actor, and others.

Both Justice Charles E. Hughes, Republican Presidential candidate, and President Woodrow Wilson, Democratic candidate, addressed large political assemblages in this city during the Presidential campaign of 1916, each presenting the arguments and reasons in behalf of his election to the Presidency of the United States, and Justice Hughes received 4,369 more votes in this city than were cast for President Wilson.

Governor Charles S. Whitman, Republican candidate, and Judge Samuel Seabury, Democratic candidate, also spoke here in behalf of themselves respectively, in their gubernatorial candidacies. Governor Whitman received 6,176 more votes in the city than were cast for Judge Seabury. This information was obtained from the Erie County Bureau of Elections.

The most prominent foreign visitor to speak in the city during the year was Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet, philosopher and educator, before the Twentieth Century Club on December 11th. His message was couched in the mystic thought of the cultured Indian, who, as he said, "had tasted of the hidden honey of this lotus that expands on the ocean of light and thus he was blessed." He came as the apostle of universal brotherhood, freely criticizing

our western civilization and calling men from their intense activities to a life of contemplation of its possibilities for service. Wherever he spoke he made a profound impression.

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT.

During the past year Buffalo has seen the Lehigh Valley Railroad passenger station on Main street completed and opened, August 27th; the new Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad passenger station at the foot of Main street rapidly nearing completion, and the plans for the proposed New York Central Railroad passenger station on Washington street. All three have been expedited by the Terminal Station Commission of the City of Buffalo, which has been insistent in its efforts to secure adequate railway passenger stations for Buffalo.

The passenger traffic into, through and out of the city by rail and by water during the past year has been larger than ever before in its history. Thousands pass in and out of Buffalo daily and the facilities for accommodating such traffic hitherto have been congested and not at all attractive. We will all be gratified when these are improved.

The freight traffic has greatly increased during the past year. The industrial growth of Buffalo has exceeded all predictions. During the last half decade 475 new industries have been established here, and Buffalo has become one of the dozen largest industrial centers of the country. A survey of the principal ones has recently been made by the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce in an illustrated brochure, just published. The iron, steel and copper interests have had a phenomenal output, illustrating Buffalo's strategic location for the assembling of ores and other raw materials and for the distribution of the manufactured products. Its milling interests are large.

At this date we do not have complete statistics of the rail tonnage at Buffalo, but it undoubtedly aggregates several million tons, giving employment to thousands of freight handlers and railroad and lake employees.

LAKE AND CANAL TRAFFIC.

The water-borne tonnage during the year has not kept pace with the aggregate tonnage coming into, passing through and going out of the city. Various causes have operated to hamper lake and canal traffic. Among these may be mentioned the smaller grain crops of the West and the embargo placed on their shipment abroad. The entire lake service has undergone reorganization under the modified navigation laws, which drove some vessels from the lake service into

the Atlantic coastwise service, where there was a scarcity of vessels and large demands for that service. That also offered alluring inducements for canal boats and many were withdrawn from canal service and engaged in river and harbor service in and about New York and the Hudson River and Long Island Sound ports.

This condition is largely attributable directly or indirectly to the disturbed conditions occasioned by the Great European War.

The water-borne commerce at the port of Buffalo for the year 1916 comprised these principal items in the following approximate quantities:

The receipts of grain, including flour, were 221,769,995 bushels, while in 1915, such receipts aggregated 258,404,083 bushels.

The receipts in iron ore were 7,437,231 tons, while in 1915, they aggregated 5,314,434 tons.

The receipts in copper were 94,159 tons, while in 1915, they aggregated 116,221 tons.

The receipts of bituminous coal were 77,330 tons, while in 1915, they aggregated 15,369 tons.

The receipts in lumber were 67,796,000 feet, while in 1915, they aggregated 85,884,000 feet.

The shipments in 1916, in coal were 2,803,040 tons, in salt 162,498 barrels, in cement 392,050 barrels and in sugar 461,740 barrels; while in 1915, they aggregated 3,864,072 tons of coal, 266,131 barrels of salt, 41,380 barrels of cement and 542,695 barrels of sugar. The shipments of railroad iron from Buffalo in 1916 were 39,261 tons.

Canal traffic was less than in 1915, both in receipts and in shipments.

The merchandise received was only 12,223 tons, while in 1915, it aggregated 27,432 tons, although the value of all the canal tonnage received was \$9,048,339, while in 1915, it aggregated but \$8,945,552.

The shipments of grain in 1916 amounted to 5,626,600 bushels, while in 1915, these aggregated 8,176,494 bushels.

General William W. Wotherspoon, State Superintendent of Public Works, in his official report for 1916, reported that the total tonnage over the entire canal system of the State for the year 1916, was 1,625,050 tons, valued at \$27,513,525, divided as follows: Over the Erie canal 917,689 tons, over the Champlain canal 506,528 tons, over the Oswego canal 135,948 tons, over the Cayuga and Seneca canal 44,421 tons, and over the Black River canal 20,464 tons.

We confidently expect that the traffic over the Barge canals will far exceed the largest aggregate tonnage ever transported over the

canal system, which tonnage amounted to 6,673,370 tons in 1872, and was valued at \$220,913,321.

At the close of navigation in December, 1916, the Lake Grain Elevator Association reported that there were 23,800,000 bushels of grain in 80 lake vessels here for winter storage, and 3,000,000 bushels in vessels to be unloaded and over 15,000,000 bushels in the Buffalo elevators. These altogether amount to approximately 42,000,000 bushels, which has never been exceeded but once and that was in 1915, when there were 29,000,000 bushels of grain in 101 lake vessels here for winter storage and in vessels for unloading and in Buffalo elevators together approximately 16,000,000 bushels, making the total quantity in the Port of Buffalo at that time between 44,000,000 and 45,000,000 bushels. Buffalo elevator storage capacity at the present time is approximately 19,000,000 bushels. The largest elevator is the Concrete Central, in process of enlargement and when completed it will hold 4,500,000 bushels. Most of these are electrically or otherwise fully equipped for the rapid transfer of grain.

Do we fully appreciate that with the possible exception of Port Arthur and Duluth, the two largest export grain ports of the world, no other domestic or foreign port ever handled so much grain in a single year as Buffalo handled in 1915, and in some prior years?

Alexandria, the grain port of Egypt, never stored such quantities of the fruits of its enormous grain-producing areas. I am moved to quote from Volume XII of the Publications of this Society at page 64 as follows:

"While standing at Fort Erie near the outlet of Lake Erie, in 1800, Gouverneur Morris in contemplating the magnitude of the commerce which eventually would be seen at the foot of the Great Lakes, said: 'Here, as in turning a point of wood, the lake broke in on my view, I saw, riding at anchor, nine vessels, the least of them of one hundred tons. Does it not seem like magic? At this point commences a navigation of more than a thousand miles. Hundreds of large ships will at no distant period bound on the billows of those inland seas.'"

That prophecy to some extent has been fulfilled and in quantity of tonnage more than fulfilled, for the "large ships" of that period were too small to compete in the lake commerce with the large vessels of the present day, of which many enter this port annually.

In 1916, the entire lake commerce amounted approximately to 17,000,000 tons, not including canal tonnage and not including railway tonnage, which was much larger.

BUFFALO'S MILITIA SERVICE.

After the enactment in June, 1916, of the National Defense Act by the Congress of the United States, and the passage of several amendments of the Military law by the Legislature of the State of New York in 1916, several regiments of National Guard of the State were mustered into the Federal service of the United States upon their members taking the Federal oath, and were placed under command of Federal officers. That was done by the members of the three organizations located in Buffalo, although their original enlistment was merely for defensive purposes as prescribed by the Military Code of the State.

Accordingly on June 26, 1916, Troop I of the First Cavalry Regiment of the National Guard of the State, consisting of 110 members and officers under command of First Lieutenant Charles Pearson, left Buffalo for Van Courtland Park, New York, there to join the regiment and later proceeded to the Mexican border, in the Federal service of the United States.

On June 28, 1916, the 65th Regiment of the National Guard of the State with 800 members and officers, which was transformed into the Third Field Artillery, left Buffalo in command of Colonel C. E. P. Babcock for Camp Whitman at Beekman, New York, and thence went on to McAllen, Texas.

On July 5, 1916, the 74th Regiment of the National Guard of New York, 1,102 men and officers under command of Colonel Nathaniel Blount Thurston, who succeeded Colonel Charles J. Wolfe, long in the service of the regiment, retired, left Buffalo via Chicago for the Mexican border and was stationed at Pharr, Texas. General William Wilson and aids of the 4th Brigade, accompanied the 74th Regiment. Both the 65th and 74th Regiments have also been in the Federal service of the United States, ever since their departure, doing police duty on the Mexican border.

The withdrawal of those three organizations with their large membership, made inroads in the business activities, in which they were engaged at the time the calls came to them. The history of the movement cannot yet well be written, but it was an event that has occasioned widespread comment among some classes of citizens and has entailed hardships upon the families of those called away from business without adequate provisions being made for the support of their families. Some firms have continued the payment of their employees, thus called into military service, though in some cases such payment has become a burden. The Legislature will undoubtedly be appealed to and provide funds as recommended by the Gov-

error for the payment of all members of the National Guard of the State in the Federal service of the United States at least up to the standard of payments of soldiers in the Army of the United States. Compulsory military service, though authorized under the common as well as under Constitutional law, in justice ought to be properly compensated. The call to arms came to them, while they were engaged in civil pursuits, which they could ill afford to relinquish in justice to their families and dependent relatives. Their response is an evidence of patriotism worthy of record in the annals of the city. We join with the press and with others in making such record.

A NOTABLE ANNIVERSARY.

Among the recent events worthy of mention was the week's observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Buffalo Club at its spacious club house in Delaware avenue. On December 30th, the members of the University and Saturn Clubs were guests of the Buffalo Club, swelling the attendance on that occasion to 750 or more, for whose entertainment an interesting programme was provided. President Walter P. Cooke of the Buffalo Club gracefully welcomed the visitors. On January 4th, ex-President William H. Taft and Hon. John G. Milburn were guests of the Club. During this anniversary, the Buffalo Historical Society loaned to the Buffalo Club some of the portraits of former Buffalonians, who had been officially or otherwise identified with that club, and other articles, thereby extending the usefulness of its possessions to other local organizations and to the edification of the citizens of the city.

LOSSES BY DEATH.

During the past year the Society has lost by death three life members and fifteen resident members, whose names will appear in the Secretary's report. The prominence of most of these in the life of this city and their long identification with this Society are attested in enduring memorials of their varied services to their generation. Judge Loran L. Lewis, one of Buffalo's greatest advocates, State Commissioner Sheldon T. Viele, Rev. Jacob A. Regeester, for twenty years or more the beloved rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and Dr. Ida C. Bender of the Educational Department, will long be remembered.

In the death of Frank M. Hollister on January 23, 1916, the city and this Society sustained a keenly-felt loss. Such public-spirited citizens are none too numerous, and their demise leaves a void in the

intellectual life of the community not readily filled. His interest in the uplift of Buffalo's institutions was manifest in his varied activities, to which he brought to bear his ripe scholarship and rare culture in a manner most charming and winsome. His services to this Society as well as to Buffalo were priceless. His genial nature and princely bearing toward his friends and associates endeared him to them all. We sadly miss him.

THE SOCIETY AND THE CITY.

The vacancy in the Board of Managers occasioned by Mr. Holister's death was filled by the election of Mr. Carlton R. Perrine and the affairs of the Society have been administered for the year in a business manner, as the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer to follow will clearly show.

Its accounts are annually examined by a public accountant and their accuracy and correctness certified to by him.

The City Comptroller recommends and the Council makes the appropriation necessary to maintain, light and heat the building, which is always open during business hours to the public and frequented by thousands of citizens, school teachers and pupils.

The Society provides a course of lectures and other entertainments and also bears the expense of the Society's publications. The funds therefor come largely from the annual dues paid by its members.

It is important that the annual losses in its membership from deaths, removals from the city and resignations be made good. We therefore urge its members to bring in their friends and associates, that the membership may be increased and additional funds provided for our lectures, for other entertainments and publications.

"AN OLD FRONTIER OF FRANCE."

The two forthcoming volumes representing Dr. Frank H. Severance's most painstaking and specialized research work in the French period are now in press and it is expected that they will be delivered to the members of the Society early in the spring. The work is entitled "An Old Frontier of France" and is a narrative history of the Niagara region and adjacent Lakes under French control, down to 1760. The work is being published by Dodd, Mead & Company, one of the most representative publishing houses in the country, and will be given wide sale as it deserves. The two volumes cover a period hitherto treated only in a fragmentary manner. They comprise much unpublished matter

and well illustrate what I have already said in relation to the necessity of the reinvestigation of the sources of the history of certain territories and periods in the light of modern research work, in order to obtain a full understanding of the actions of men and the social or other movements of communities, forming the complex factors in man's progress.

VARIED ACTIVITIES.

The Society has maintained a course of interesting illustrated lectures during the past year to assemblages well filling the lecture hall. The remainder of the course for the present year will be none the less instructive and interesting. These popular lectures have added much to the activities of the Society and are so arranged as not to conflict with the lectures and addresses given by the Society of Natural Sciences, which latter lectures are also attended by many members of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Several members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society are also directors of the Society of Natural Sciences and some are also members of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. These three organizations are so administered as to supplement each other and together fill a large field in the educational activities of the city. Their contributions to its uplift are deeply appreciated by the citizens of Buffalo as evidenced by the popular support of these three institutions.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Among the collegiate institutions in Buffalo are Canisius College, founded in 1870, at present with 170 undergraduates; D'Youville College, chartered in 1908, at present with 161 undergraduates; and the University of Buffalo, founded in 1846, at present with 1,048 students in all departments. Charles P. Norton, B. A., is Chancellor of the University of Buffalo. It has 240 undergraduates and a faculty of 21 members in the Department of Arts and Sciences, of which Julian Park, M. A., is Secretary.

During the year 1916, the University of Buffalo celebrated the seventieth anniversary of its founding by announcing, on February 22d, the most important gifts that have yet been made to it. The first of these was supplemental to the gift of 1915, when the Women's Educational and Industrial Union presented its building on Niagara Square to the University, conditional on the raising, before February 22, 1916, of \$100,000 for endowment. On the

latter date this condition was complied with, Mrs. Seymour H. Knox giving the necessary amount, as well as pledging \$50,000, for each of the next three years and a final amount of \$250,000 as a bequest. This gift, eventually amounting to \$500,000, is known as the Seymour H. Knox Foundation, to be used for endowment of the College of Arts and Sciences, which was founded in 1913. At the same time a gift from General Edmund Hayes for the first building on the new site of 106 acres was also announced, amounting to \$250,000, conditional on the raising of \$1,000,000 by June, 1919. These gifts, aggregating a greater total than had ever before been given for any educational purpose in Buffalo, finally make possible the plans for providing adequate facilities for higher education in this city, long desired by Chancellor Norton and others in their efforts to secure funds to maintain such Department of Liberal Arts and Sciences in the University of Buffalo.

In reviewing the events of the year, mention may be made of another growing educational institution in this city.

The State Normal School in its new buildings is already crowded, though the late Hon. Edward H. Butler, Sr., Dr. Thomas F. Finegan of the State Department of Education, Governor Charles E. Hughes and myself, the introducer of the original bill, thought we had made ample provision for its increased attendance and probable growth in framing and enacting into law Chapter 520 of the Laws of 1910, providing "for the construction of new buildings for the Buffalo State Normal and Training School on the site of which the buildings (Old Normal) of such school are now located and at a cost not to exceed \$400,000."

In carrying forward the building, by Chapter 14 of the Laws of 1912, the bill for which was introduced by Assemblyman Edward D. Jackson of Buffalo and supported by Assemblyman Charles C. Page of Buffalo, the Legislature appropriated \$100,000, "toward the \$400,000, authorized to be expended by Chapter 520 of the Laws of 1910 in the construction of new buildings for the Buffalo State Normal and Training School in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared and approved as provided by said act."

By Chapter 186 of the Laws of 1913, the bill for which was introduced by Senator John F. Malone of Buffalo and supported by Assemblyman Clinton T. Horton of Buffalo, the Legislature made a further appropriation of \$300,000 in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1910, to complete said buildings.

By Chapter 712 of the Laws of 1915, the bill for which was introduced by Senator Clinton T. Horton, the Legislature appro-

printed \$30,000 for elevators, furnishing the buildings and for grading the grounds.

By Chapter 646 of the Laws of 1916, Senator Clinton T. Horton secured further appropriations for the equipment, furnishings of the building and grading of the grounds of the Buffalo State Normal School.

The several foregoing legislative appropriations and activities of the State authorities have made it possible for Buffalo to have one of the largest and best equipped Normal and Training Schools in the country. That was the profound purpose and oft-expressed desire of the late Hon. Edward H. Butler, Sr., whose impelling personal advocacy of the matter surmounted all barriers (and there were many), and secured for this city the well designed and fully equipped Normal School building of today.

Under Principal Dr. Daniel Upton and enlarged faculty, its attendance from 1910 to 1917, has increased from approximately 300 to 700. Fortunately for the State Normal and Training School, Edward H. Butler, now chairman of the local Board of Managers, is giving much consideration to its affairs and thus carrying forward the work of his esteemed father. The growth of that institution and the completion of its new buildings are worthy of record.

OUR COMMISSION GOVERNMENT.

The new Commission form of government has completed the first year of its existence without any apparent interruption in the disposition of pressing matters, thereby demonstrating the predictions of its original promoters, as to the efficiency of such a municipal system. Such efficiency, however, has been noticeably promoted by the painstaking energy and personal devotion of the Commissioners to their departmental duties. They are giving the taxpayers an economical and intelligent administration of the city's affairs and establishing themselves in popular favor. It is generally expected that there will be still further improvement in our municipal government, as the new system is better understood and its operation perfected, as it undoubtedly will be in the light of experience. Several amendments to the Charter were found necessary and were made thereto by Chapter 260 of the Laws of 1916.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT,

I cannot close without saying a word in appreciation of the valuable and unselfish services to this Society of the members of the Board of Managers, who convene monthly to consider its in-

terests and to look after its management. Most of the twenty members of the Board are active business men, and they give their time and energies unreservedly in the administration of its affairs.

The officers and members of the Board of Managers are the following: Andrew Langdon, Honorary President; Henry W. Hill, President; Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President; Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer; Albert H. Briggs, M. D., Lee H. Smith, M. D., John G. Wickser, Willis O. Chapin, William A. Galpin, Howard H. Baker, Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett Rich, Henry W. Sprague, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, William G. Justice, Loran L. Lewis, Jr., George A. Stringer, and Carlton R. Perrine. They are entitled to the gratitude of the members of this Society and the people of Buffalo.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JAN. 9, 1917.

Mr. President. Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

The past year has been one of progress, and of helpful service. This Society is stronger today than it was a year ago; and there has never been a time in its history when it had more friends in the community where its work is carried on. Nor has there ever been a time, possibly excepting the year 1900-1901, while its building was under erection, when this institution had in hand more important projects than it has at present. If all goes well, the year 1917 will see its Museum in large part made over and greatly improved, and a work of exceptional character added to its series of Publications.

As in all societies of this kind, our membership constantly changes, but we hold fast to our friends, usually through many years. Losses from membership by death in 1916 numbered 18, as against 27 in 1915. As is ever the case, the list includes many of useful and prominent activity in the community, many whom we long miss and deeply mourn. The losses were:

Jan. 23	Frank M. Hollister.....	Resident Member	
		and a Member of the Board of Managers.	
Mar. 8	Hon. Loran L. Lewis.....	Resident Member	
Mar. 22	Henry K. Wick, Youngstown, Ohio.....	"	"
May 11	Nelson Holland	Life	"
May 12	Sheldon Thompson Viele.....	Resident	"
May 30	Mrs. Hugh Cottier	Life	"
June 11	Dr. Ida C. Bender	Resident	"
June 12	Peter Paul	Life	"
June 15	William F. Kasting	Resident	"
June 15	Mrs. Louise E. Allen	"	"
July 19	Rev. Jacob A. Register, S. T. D.	"	"
Aug. 15	John F. Allen	"	"
Sept. 9	Miss Eliza S. Haskins	"	"
Sept. 10	Henry W. Burt	"	"
Nov. 4	Marcus M. Darr	"	"
Nov. 11	William Wippert	"	"
Dec. 10	Frank M. Hayes, M. D., Lewiston.....	"	"
Dec. 12	Michael Nellany	"	"

During the year 29 new members were added, the active membership, life and resident, being a little less than 600.

The principal work in connection with the maintenance of the building was the reconstruction of a drain, to get greater discharging capacity in case of sudden and heavy rains, and so avoid the backing up of water and flooding of portions of the basement, which has sometimes occurred. We have had no trouble since the work was done, but until the elements have given a more crucial try-out than has yet been the case, one is hardly warranted in saying there will be no more trouble.

Thorough repair work was also done on the roof, in spite of which some leakage has since occurred, chiefly around skylights. Evidently our roof is to be a perennial charge. Dampness continues to cause crumbling of the plaster in certain places in the basement. Renovation is recommended. Renewal of a large part of the electric light service should be made soon, as a matter of economy.

In the Museum, many minor improvements have been made, and a large number of articles have been received from friends. The most noteworthy gift is a collection of Indian baskets, many of them of rare and costly work, received from Mrs. Frederick H. Stevens. From the same generous donor also came an interesting collection of Chinese and Japanese articles.

A few of the more interesting gifts of the year follow: From Mrs. Jewett M. Richmond, an ancient tall clock, and small colonial mirror; Mrs. William L. Doyle, Mrs. J. B. McCreary, Mr. Charles P. Norton, Clarence F. Rowland, Civil War relics; Mrs. E. H. Dickinson, Indian and African baskets; Walter J. Shepard, portraits of Walter Joy and John D. Shepard; Charles B. Germain, an interesting collection of old-time music; Mrs. Jane Durick, a silver pitcher presented to her husband's father, Alderman James Durick, by his constituents of the 2d Ward of Buffalo, December, 1836; an oil portrait of Alderman Durick, and other articles; from Dr. Charles W. Bethune, a death mask of the late Dr. Roswell Park; Mr. D. M. Silver, a collection of copies of rare early maps, and books; Mrs. Edgar A. Bartholomew of Hamburg, swift and reel owned by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Arnold Pierce of Hamburg, from about 1827 until their death; from the Police Department of the City of Buffalo, an old restraining chair, with straps, stocks for the feet, etc., used for refractory prisoners some 50 years ago; from Mrs. E. H. Swift, a beautifully painted water-color view of the Pan-American Exposition; Hon. Peter A. Porter, three engravings of Niagara Falls;

and from many other friends, miscellaneous relics, books, pictures and documents, of all of which proper records are kept.

For the better accommodation and display of our collections, a number of standard museum cases have been ordered from the Library Bureau. It is expected that these will be ready early this year and that when installed and filled the general appearance of our Museum will be much improved. It is visited daily, and on Sunday afternoons and in the tourist season is visited and enjoyed by thousands.

Additions to the Library during the year number 895, making total number of catalogued volumes, December 31, 1916, 25,255. A portion of the accessions were pamphlets long in our possession but not heretofore catalogued. Numerous books came by gift, including several additions to the General Francis V. Greene collection on American wars. Our purchases were confined to American and Canadian history, chiefly works relating to New York State or the Niagara and Lake region. A few genealogies were added, and subscription continued to necessary periodicals and historical series. An effort is also made to collect all books printed in Buffalo, or of Buffalo authorship. A considerable number of books, pamphlets and reports relating to the present war have been received, usually with the compliments of Sir Gilbert Parker. These are preserved, although the scope of our collections does not include this subject, nor do we buy anything relating to it.

Among books bought are Parkman's works, long needed, but never procured until the past summer; *The Correspondence of William Pitt*, in four volumes; Seibert's "*Tories of the Upper Ohio*;" *Records of Dutch Reform Churches*, two volumes; some New York county histories, and local books. Of especial local value are the *Record on Appeal*, in the case of heirs of Louis Le Couteulx against St. Louis Roman Catholic Church, a gift of Hon. Charles A. Pooley, and the *Briefs* in the same famous case, from Hon. George Clinton; a history of Buffalo Consistory, given by Hon. George Clinton; and a manuscript, "*Beginnings of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church*, as found in records of the First Presbyterian Church," compiled and presented by Chas. J. North.

By exchange with the Bureau of Railway Economics, Washington, we have received many pamphlets and reports on the railroads of the country.

In June, estimates were invited for increasing the stack capacity of the library, but they proved so excessive that the matter was tabled for the time being. By gradually withdrawing from our

shelves books of no practical value, or rather, not in keeping with the general character of our collection, room can be gained for new material in the special field which it is the business of this institution to collect and preserve. The ideal for this library is not size, or wide range of subject; but to be as full as possible in lines which relate to our regional history. By such a course we avoid, in large measure, duplication with other Buffalo libraries, and ultimately make this, what it ought to be, the recognized leading historical library of Western New York. Until the Management of the Society finds it advisable to spend money for increase of book storage, some such course as above indicated is the only one left open to the Secretary.

Early in 1916, Volume XIX of the Society's Publications was issued. Besides containing memoirs of the late J. N. Larned and Henry A. Richmond, and a collection of Mr. Larned's papers and addresses, it was principally devoted to the Periodical Press of Buffalo, including sketches, reminiscences, etc., and a bibliography by the Secretary.

During the year the Secretary has completed a work which has long engaged him, being a narrative history of the Lower Lakes and Niagara region under French control, written from sources largely heretofore unused. Arrangements have been made for its publication by Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, in two volumes, under the title, "An Old Frontier of France." The work will be available for the general public, and will also be included in the Publications series of this Society, in which it will appear as Volumes XX and XXI. It is expected to be ready for distribution early in the spring.

In this connection it may be remarked, that the opportunities for this Society in the work of historical research, writing, editing and publishing, are very great—so great, in fact, that none of us who now give a portion of our time to these matters, can expect to exhaust the field. What we have done, has been under the limitations imposed by cost, and the demands of other duties. If we have gained any recognition from other institutions, and from the historical profession generally, it has been largely due to the historical studies prepared by our President, by Mr. Howland and other valued contributors to the publications which we have sent forth. The Secretary, recognizing his own limitations, has long felt that the best service he can render to this institution is in this field.

In May, the Society was represented by Mr. Henry R. Howland and the Secretary at the annual meeting of the American

Association of Museums, in Washington. In October, at Cooperstown, the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Society was attended by Hon. D. S. Alexander, Mrs. John Miller Horton, Dr. Lee H. Smith, Mr. William Y. Warren, all of this Society, and the Secretary, Colonel Alexander taking an important part in the exercises. An interesting and profitable feature of the programme was an excursion to Cherry Valley, and an inspection, under expert local guidance, of sites and landmarks important in the history of our State, and closely associated with the history of the Niagara region, during the American Revolution.

In December, the Secretary was delegated to attend the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, at Cincinnati.

Besides participation in the annual meetings of these large bodies, we have continued in pleasant relation with local societies, clubs and institutions, and have availed ourselves of such opportunities as offered to coöperate, or give useful service. In February, the Buffalo Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, was entertained at the Historical Building. In Spring and Fall, as has been the case for several years, a large number of teachers from the public and the parochial schools have visited the building with their classes; when desired, historical talks have been given them by Mr. Shongo in the Museum, or by the Secretary. At the request of the University of Buffalo the Secretary gave a course of four lectures on our regional history, before the Arts Department of the University, at Townsend Hall, in November and December. These lectures were open to the public and were well attended. A more elaborate course is requested for the coming year.

The Secretary has also given numerous lectures in the Buffalo Night Schools, at the State Normal School, etc. He shared in the exercises at the dedication of the Memorial of the 100th Regiment, unveiled at the Front the past Autumn. He has also made a number of addresses, historical or literary, before various clubs and societies. This phase of his work is undertaken wholly with a view to establishing cordial and helpful relations between the Historical Society and the public.

The usual course of entertainments has been provided for our members, a strong preference being shown for illustrated lectures. The Secretary contemplates, the coming year, some radical departures from this style of intellectual diversion, and is disposed to test the statement often made to him, that people will not come to a lecture unless there are pictures. Entertainments during 1916 were as follows:

- Jan. 4—Illustrated Lecture: "The Glories and Stories of Oxford".....*Rev. Arthur J. Francis*
 25—"Personal Recollections of Lincoln in the Telegraph Office during the Civil War..."*David Homer Bates*
 Feb. 15—Illustrated Lecture: "Russia and the Slavic Problem".....*Clinton LeRoy Babcock, Ph. D.*
 29—Illustrated Lecture: "Annapolis in Colonial and Revolutionary Days".....*George Forbes*
 Mar. 14—Illustrated Lecture: "The Storm Heroes of Our Coast".....*Arthur K. Peck*
 28—Illustrated Lecture Recital: "Arthurian Romance in Poetry and Painting".....*Miss Edith Kuns*
 Apr. 18—Memorial Meeting:
 Memoir of Dr. Ernest Wende, by.....*Hon. Adelbert Moot*
 Memoir of Dr. Roswell Park, by.....*Dr. Chas. G. Stockton*
 Oct. 31—Illustrated Lecture—"Venice: The Rise and Fall of a Commercial Republic".....*B. E. Baumgardt*
 Nov. 14—Illustrated Lecture: "The Wonder City of Petra".....*Rev. Samuel V. V. Holmes*
 28—Illustrated Lecture: "Dominant Personalities in the Great War".....*Dr. Arthur E. Bestor*
 Dec. 5—Illustrated Lecture: "Argentina and the Patagonian Pampas".....*Charles Wellington Furlong*
 19—Illustrated Lecture: "Among New England Shrines".....*Collins Vanden Berg*

The attendance, unless interfered with by inclement weather, is usually excellent.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to recognize the faithful and efficient service rendered by our librarian, Mrs. Anna A. Andrews, and that of the assistant secretary, Miss Helen F. Moffat, to whose competent hands the routine work of the treasurer's office is largely entrusted. To her assistance too in the preparation of the copy for the two volumes now in the publishers' hands—a task of many months—the Secretary is more indebted than he can here express. For all helpfulness from these and others of his staff acknowledgment is made; to none more than to the members of the Board of Managers who by their attendance at meetings—often, beyond question, at no small inconvenience to themselves—and by their sympathetic and cordial support, have made possible whatever measure of success and usefulness in the community, has been attained by this institution.

FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 8, 1918

The fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 8, 1918. After the minutes of the preceding annual meeting were read and approved, Mr. D. M. Silver was called to the chair, and President Henry W. Hill read his annual address, which here follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Officers and Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society may properly be made the occasion of chronicling some events in the activities of the city, that cannot fail to be of permanent historical value. During the past year some of these have been quite unusual, due in part to the great European war, into which the United States entered by Joint Resolution of Congress, approved by President Wilson on April 6th, 1917, declaring "that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same," and due in part to the extraordinary conditions that supervened thereupon and followed thereafter. Such matters have largely engaged the time and attention of the citizens of Buffalo since war was declared. Therefore the accustomed activities of the people of the city, state and nation have been more or less interrupted and events of unusual import have engrossed their attention. Some of these are now part of the history of Buffalo and may properly find record in this institution, maintained by general taxation and an institution whose historical records are open to public examination. Any survey, however, of the events of the past year must necessarily be limited to those of a public character, except in a few instances where the occurrence may have elicited general interest. Before proceeding, however, with the recital of events that were the outgrowth of, or traceable to, the existing war, mention may be made of matters of importance not the outgrowth of that war.

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT.

Among these may be mentioned the second year's experience under the so-called commission form of government. It was something of an experiment for this municipality to adjust its departments and

conform its activities to new charter provisions, quite novel in many respects, but both in theory and in practice, designed to centralize its governmental functions in five councilmen and vest in them all the legislative and administrative powers, incident to the conduct of its affairs. Students of municipal government in and out of this city have watched the experiment with much interest. They have examined into its operation and expressed surprise at the facility with which the transformation from the old to the new form of government was effected and its successful operation during the first two years of its history.

Undoubtedly the success is largely due to the untiring efforts of the honorable councilmen charged with the responsibility of its administration and their individual devotion to its interests. They have earned and deserve the commendation of its citizens. Its departments are now being conducted under business methods and so co-ordinated, as to ensure their harmonious, economical and efficient operation. All this will more fully appear as the parts of the system are the better adjusted to each other and the ends of local government are more fully attained. Enough has already been accomplished to justify the statement that the Commission form of government in Buffalo is meeting the expectations of its advocates and satisfying a great majority of its citizens. In adopting this new form of municipal government in advance of other large cities of the state, Buffalo again demonstrated its progressive policy, as it has done on many other occasions by taking the initiative in other governmental reforms. At the general election on November 6th, 1917, Hon. George S. Buck was chosen mayor of Buffalo over Hon. Louis P. Fuhrmann, who was completing his second term as mayor of the city. Hon. John F. Malone was re-elected councilman over ex-sheriff Fred L. Becker, who was a candidate for the office of city councilman.

LAKE TONNAGE.

During the season of lake navigation in 1917, extending over a period of approximately 240 days, there was a marked decrease in some kinds of lake tonnage as compared with similar tonnage in former years. The volume of ex-lake grain tonnage fell off approximately 42,000,000 bushels, and that was not compensated for by any increase in the movement of flour down the lakes during the season, as the ex-lake receipts for the season also showed a decrease at \$600,000,000 were total losses. That departure is still going on abnormal Great Lakes commerce conditions of 1917. Among these

may be mentioned the departure from them of thirty or more lake vessels to be engaged in coast-wise or in overseas navigation. Fourteen vessels, having a carrying capacity of 26,750 tons and valued at \$600,000 were total losses. That departure is still going on and the Federal Government officials only know the extent of the withdrawal of vessels from the Great Lakes in 1917, and the loss thereto in vessel carrying capacity.

Another cause was the taking over of the food resources of the country and controlling the distribution thereof by the United States Food Administration under Herbert C. Hoover, Food Administrator, pursuant to the Act of Congress of August 10th, 1917, conferring upon the President plenary powers in relation to the conservation and distribution of necessities defined in the law to include "foods, feeds, fuel including fuel of oil and natural gas, etc." The United States Food Administration assumed control of such necessities on September 4th, 1917. Julius H. Barnes, Esq., of Duluth was placed in charge of the movements of grain and has his principal office in New York City. Charles Kennedy, Esq., of Buffalo, is in charge of the branch office in this city supervising the movement of grains through this port. In aid of such administration a Federal corporation was formed to purchase and distribute food supplies and to prevent the unlawful storage and monopoly of the same and to provide for a fair distribution of such necessities to supply the demands of the people. It is too early to say what effect that may have upon the movement of grains down the Great Lakes, though the receipts for October and November exceeded those for the same months in 1916.

Under the Federal Food Act, the President was authorized to fix the minimum price at which wheat was to be sold and it has been stated that the price so fixed has not facilitated its movement eastward, but that western producers are now hoarding in the West for higher prices.

Still another contributing cause to the abnormal Lake commerce of 1917, was the shortage of the grain yield of 1916 and the moderate storage in the West last winter for shipment down the lakes in 1917. A part of the yield for 1916 purchased for export naturally found shipment from the port of Montreal and from other ports outside of New York. That reduced the ex-lake receipts at this port during more than one-half of the season of navigation.

Then again, a larger amount of American wheat was manufactured in the West into flour in 1917, than in former years and that still further reduced the volume of ex-lake grain receipts at this port

during the last year. That flour was consumed in this country or found its way to the sea-board for export. In the latter case, whatever amount thereof may have been received at this port for shipment to the seaboard appears in the aggregate ex-lake grain receipts, including flour given in equivalent in bushels. The total ex-lake grain receipts, exclusive of flour for the year 1917 were 147,026,646 bushels, and including the equivalent in bushels of 5,021,940 barrels of flour also received aggregates 172,136,346 bushels, while in 1916 the ex-lake grain receipts including the equivalent in bushels of the 6,957,432 barrels of flour also received aggregated 221,769,995 bushels. The ex-lake receipts in merchandise were 123,957 tons, while in 1916, they were 153,572 tons. The ex-lake receipts of iron ore in 1917 were 7,925,907 tons, while in 1916 such receipts aggregated 7,437,231 tons. The ex-lake receipts in pig iron were 22,107 tons, while in 1916, they aggregated 53,137 tons.

The ex-lake receipts in copper in 1917 were 109,386 tons while in 1916 they aggregated 94,159 tons. The ex-lake receipts in stone were 1,078,145 tons, while in 1916 they were 846,338 tons. The receipts of bituminous coal were 100,550 tons, while in 1916, they aggregated 77,330 tons. The ex-lake receipts in lumber were 48,101,000 feet, while in 1916 they aggregated 67,796,000 feet. The ex-lake receipts in shingles were 91,630,000 packages, while in 1916, they aggregated 370,920,000 packages. The shipments from Buffalo of coal in 1917 were 4,137,904 tons, of salt, 30,274 barrels, of cement, 2,400 barrels, and of sugar 184,230 barrels, while in 1916, such shipments aggregated 2,803,040 tons of coal, 162,498 barrels of salt, 392,050 barrels of cement and 461,740 barrels of sugar. Only about 7,000,000 bushels of grain are in the elevator for winter storage and about 20,000,000 bushels consisting of oats and hayseed are in eleven vessels in the harbor for winter storage.

CANAL TONNAGE.

Canal tonnage for the year 1917 has shown a still greater decline. Superintendent William W. Wotherspoon reports the tonnage by canals for the year as follows:—Erie, 675,083 tons; Champlain, 515,754 tons; Oswego, 74,042 tons; Cayuga and Seneca, 17,525 tons, and Black River Canal, 14,821 tons; aggregating a total tonnage of 1,297,225 tons, the smallest since the Erie Canal was first enlarged in 1835 and during the succeeding 27 years.

The grain moving out of Buffalo eastward over the Erie Canal aggregated only 1,040,835 bushels, while in 1916 such shipments amounted to 5,626,600 bushels. The receipts by canal in 1917 were

in iron and steel 148 tons, in bituminous coal 348 tons, in stone, lime, clay, etc., 171,850 tons, in pig iron, 7,148 tons, in merchandise, 7,955 tons, in sundries, 3,021 tons. The shipments from Buffalo by canal, exclusive of the 1,040,835 bushels of grain, of which we have record, were in merchandise, 9,710 tons, in stone, lime, etc., 81,306 tons, and in sundries, 250 tons.

These quantities may be somewhat changed when the official records are fully tabulated, but they are approximately correct and show the smallest canal tonnage at this port since the canal improvement was completed in 1862.

This reduced canal tonnage at Buffalo is all the more remarkable as it occurred in a year of unprecedented industrial activity, when the iron, steel, copper and scores of other enlarged plants were crowded to their full capacity and rail carriers were congested as never before in their history. Various causes have been assigned for the decline of canal tonnage notable within the last two years. Among these are (1) the withdrawal of canal boats from the canals and their use in New York harbor service, thereby seriously depleting canal equipment necessary for efficient transportation of canal tonnage, (2) the incompleteness of the barge canals and delay in providing them with boats for efficient canal service, (3) the unorganized and unbusiness-like methods, which have naturally ensued from individual, irresponsible canal operation in the past, and (4) from the diversion of tonnage, especially in 1917, from water to rail carriers, operating between the Great Lakes and the sea.

All these may be overcome when the barge canals are completed in 1918, provided shippers and commercial centers become actively interested in adequately equipping and operating them for prompt and efficient service. Industries, producers and consumers ought not to suffer these state waterways and terminals representing an investment of \$154,800,000, to remain idle and especially so, when it has been conclusively demonstrated that transportation by water is more economical than it is by rail. It is confidently asserted that, when the barge canals are equipped for prompt and efficient transportation they may be of great service to industries during the present war. The exigencies of the State may necessitate Federal aid to provide the canals with the facilities of transportation to move military supplies from the interior Great Lakes states to the ocean. This has been advocated by the Honorable George Clinton of Buffalo, General William W. Wotherspoon, State Superintendent of Public Works and others, and is a matter now under consideration at Washington.

LAKE AND CANAL COMMERCE.

The lake and canal commerce at this port is something of a barometric gauge of the commercial and industrial activities of this city. Many of its activities are reflected in the volume of raw materials transported to and finished products shipped from this port. These may otherwise elude official notice, though they represent the pulsation of industrial life, which is basic in the growth of a municipality. Diversified industries and an active commerce are reciprocally potential in stimulating each other and in promoting municipal as well as state and national prosperity.

Buffalo possesses commercial advantages well-nigh as far reaching as did Venice when her fleets dominated the commerce of the Mediterranean.

BUFFALO'S INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

These comprise iron, steel, copper, car, stove, engine, automobile, automobile supply, aeroplane, lumber, leather, soap, chemical, pottery, silk, piano supply, radiator, and scores of other works, breweries, malt houses, mammoth grain elevators, live stock, coal and other markets, all together making this one of the principal business centers of the country. These manifold industries absorb enormous quantities of raw materials and send forth thousands of tons of finished products monthly. This is largely due to its unexcelled water and rail transportation possibilities, situated as it is at the western terminus of the Erie Canal and at the foot of four of the Great Lakes, whose annual commerce approximates one hundred million tons; and also situated as it is at the radiating center of a half dozen trunk line railroads extending in various directions and within twelve hours ride of more than one-fourth of the population of the United States.

Buffalo possesses both "commerce and industry," which President Washington declared "are the best mines of a nation." Wherever they flourish, there both the mechanical and the liberal arts find their principal encouragement and support. From these flow all the other activities in a city's life, such as trade relations, banking, educational institutions, governmental agencies, the philanthropies, the works of literature and the achievements in art. Fundamentally all these are conditioned to some extent upon the enterprise and uplift of the life of a community and these latter characteristics are usually found where there is substantial commercial and industrial prosperity.

From all this, it may be seen that the people of Buffalo ought not to become indifferent to its industries, nor to its water-borne and rail commerce, the latter of which, though not definitely known at this time, in all probability in 1917 exceeded 50,000,000 tons.

Realising the importance of wide trade relations, the poet John Dryden many years ago said:—

“Instructed ships shall sail to quick commerce,
By which remotest regions are allied,
Which makes one city of the universe,
Where some may gain, and all may be supplied.”

Since this nation acquired the Philippine Islands and entered the European war it has been recognized as a world Power and again as in 1858-1860 it may seek world-wide trade relations in which this city with its ever extending commerce may rightfully share. By reason of the improvement of the Buffalo river, and the location of several new industries along its banks, the assessable values there have been increased over nine millions of dollars, which is some indication of what commerce and industries have already done in that section of the city. In 1917 assessed valuations in the city were increased approximately \$200,000,000 and the largest increase was of real and personal properties and franchises in the tax district comprising the Buffalo river industries. Increased values are only a part, however, of the permanent gain which will accrue to the city. To that must be added the far greater benefits direct and incidental to accrue from the operation of the new plants in the vicinity. Similar benefits are accruing from the other industries of Buffalo. Thousands of employees are receiving larger wages than have ever before been paid here for similar services and they are paying more than at any time since the late Civil War for edibles and all staple commodities. Productive industry is seriously hampered by the cost of labor, and laborers are suffering from the increasing cost of commodities so that the effects are thus doubly injurious.

Such expert authority as Professor Adolph C. Miller of the Federal Reserve Board maintains that the prevailing inflated prices are due to Government loans largely financed by bank credits without any simultaneous increase in the volume of products. Recently he is reported as saying that “the conclusion is irresistible that inflation has been in progress to a marked degree in this country during the past two years and a half, and that the steady forward march of prices which has cramped and pinched the average consumer has been caused for the most part by the rapid expansion of

banking credit and currency without a commensurate expansion of productive industry." He insists that we must produce more and consume less and thereby increase our savings.

In discussing inflation in connection with Government war financing, Dr. Miller says "it may arise from many different causes, the two principal ones being: (1) Inflation of prices that is apt to result when the Government undertakes to spend money, however obtained, faster than the goods it seeks to buy are being produced, and (2) inflation, both of banking credit and of commodity prices, results when the Government undertakes to borrow faster than the people are able or willing to save."

"In the last named case," he declares, "the loans of the Government, by one device or another, will be forced upon the banks. The banks will pay for the loans by an extension of banking credit and currency. The inevitable effect on commodity prices of an expansion of banking credit and currency is to raise them. It would seem to need no extended argument in this day in America to demonstrate that banking credit in any of its typical forms is purchasing power, exerting the same effect on prices when used in payment of goods or purchases as any other forms of purchasing media. When purchasing media are produced faster than goods are produced—in brief, when the supply of currency and credit in its increase outruns the increase of the supply of purchasable goods—the prices of goods must rise.

"Whether such condition is best described by the word 'inflation' the fact remains that the rise of prices of purchasable goods in such a situation is closely connected with the increased supply of purchasing media. Moreover, when the increase of purchasing media, occasioned by the expansion of banking credit, follows upon the investment of banking credit in Government loans, the conclusion is irresistible that the expansion of credit and its resulting consequences in increased commodity prices are being induced by bank lendings to the Government."

It is a matter of serious concern, however, to private employers of labor how they are to compete with Federal bids for labor and the payment of wages by Federal agencies without regard to the effect upon individual enterprises. Privately or corporately operated industries cannot well compete with governmentally operated plants, financed by the United States. Industrial wage scales have demoralized the building trades and produced conditions that hereafter may be difficult of solution. The shortage of coal during the closing months of the year still further hampered many industries.

Governmental authorities, however, justify all wage and other expenditures on the grounds of the exigencies of the great war, necessitating the manufacture of munitions, aeroplanes and other equipment with all possible dispatch. Nothing less imperative than the extraordinary demands of the nation in this crisis could reasonably be urged in justification of the prevailing abnormal wage scales of employees in plants engaged in the production of war munitions, to the partial demoralization of other branches of business. Buffalo has become an industrial center and its activities are far reaching. It is important to its continuing growth that all its industrial classes be employed at fair wages.

NOTABLE EVENTS.

Among the notable events of the year was the William A. Sunday religious campaign, which was preceded by rallies held under the direction of Chairman Volney P. Kinney and his committee in many Buffalo homes during the month of January, 1917. Mr. Sunday opened his meetings in the mammoth tabernacle, constructed at East Ferry Street, on January 28th, with audiences estimated at 10,500 in the morning and 14,550 in the evening. That campaign continued with unabated enthusiasm for eight weeks and closed on Sunday, March 25th, with an estimated attendance of 16,000. The total attendance for the entire period was given as 990,459 and the collections aggregated \$58,803.28 prior to the final free will offering amounting to \$42,204.74, which went to Mr. Sunday and his party of helpers. Nothing like it had occurred in Buffalo since the days of the Dwight L. Moody's meetings. His so-called trail hitters numbered 32,258. The *Buffalo Express* said of it editorially: "Buffalo indeed had a spiritual awakening." The *News* said editorially: "No more remarkable series of meetings ever took place in Buffalo." The *Buffalo Commercial* said on March 26th, 1917: "Evangelist William A. Sunday at four monster tabernacle meetings yesterday concluded his remarkable revival campaign of eight weeks in Buffalo. Many thousands more than the great wooden house of worship could possibly hold stormed the 28 doors of the tabernacle to get in at the succession of services and those who did gain admission reached the enormous total for the day of 59,500, making a total of 1,020,440 for the campaign."

ST. PAUL'S CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.

From February 4th to February 11th, 1917, occurred the centennial celebration of the incorporation of St. Paul's Church in Buffalo. In 1817 Buffalo had a population of 1500. The first meeting for the organization of the church was held in Elias Ransom's Tavern at the northwest corner of Main and Huron streets. Rev. William Clark, missionary, was its first rector. Lot 42 was given by the Holland Land Company through Joseph Ellicott, its agent, on condition that a church be built thereon. The excavations for the foundation of the present edifice were commenced in 1849, the corner stone was laid in 1850 and the church was completed in 1851. On May 10, 1888, the church edifice was destroyed by fire caused by an explosion of natural gas, and it was not completely restored until January 3d, 1890. That evening was celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe's episcopate, during which period he wrote, "Hallowe'en, a Romaunt with Lays Meditative and Devotional" (1869); "The Lady's Chase" (1878); "Institutes of Christian History" (1878); and other productions including "Christian Ballads." His lyric entitled "March" is prophetic of conditions on the European battlefields of today. In that he said:

"Every stride, every tramp,
Every footfall is nearer
And dimmer each lamp
As darkness grows dimmer."

Bishop Coxe at the ripe age of 78 years died on July 20, 1896, and left many productions of genuine literary merit and some poems in Latin as well as in English. His life was full of good works and his legacy to his own and to succeeding generations was priceless.

The commemorative centenary exercises extended over a week and were participated in by Archdeacon, the Venerable H. F. Cody of Toronto, the Rt. Rev. Charles P. Anderson, Bishop of Chicago, Rev. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, the Rt. Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, Rev. Charles A. Jessup, Rector of St. Paul's. Rev. John Mills Gilbert, Rector of Holy Trinity Church, West Chester, Pa., the late venerated Rt. Rev. William D. Walker, Bishop of Western New York, and by the mayor of Buffalo, and several of its prominent clergymen and laymen. The Philharmonic Chorus under the direction of Mr. Andrew T. Webster, rendered the anthems at the civic meeting at Elmwood Music Hall on February 10th, 1917.

A reception was tendered at the Hotel Iroquois in the evening of February 7th, which was attended by many citizens from within and many visitors from without the city.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church with its noted clergy and distinguished laity has an illuminating history. That has been graphically and exhaustively described in "The History of St. Paul's Church in Buffalo, N. Y.," from 1817 to 1888 by Charles W. Evans, one of its then wardens; and, from 1888 to 1903, by Alice M. Evans Bartlett and Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, one of the Board of Managers of this Society. The accuracy of statement of St. Paul's memorable history insures the usefulness and permanency of that work.

Bishop Walker's last pastoral Easter message was read in the 150 churches of Western New York on April 8th, 1917. It was a patriotic appeal to the clergy and laity to uphold the rights and liberties that inhere in the very being of manhood against the aggressions of a Power that "sheds the innocent babies' blood and drowns the unarmed and helpless in the depths of the sea."

On April the 15th, the trooping of the colors took place at St. Paul's Church. Heroes of past wars joined with soldiers of the present time in honoring the stars and stripes. Following the vested choir, preceded by the cross, came the clergy and Bishop Walker. In the chancel they awaited the national colors and regimental flags being borne up the aisle by soldiers, followed by veterans of the Civil and Spanish Wars. While flags of the Third Artillery, banners of Troop I, Naval Militia and 74th Infantry lined aisles on each side, the veterans marched through with their flags and placed them against stone pillars flanking both sides of the sanctuary. Bishop Walker prayed for peace and preservation of the American people and their Allies.

On May 2d, 1917, shortly after the centennial exercises, the venerable Rt. Rev. William D. Walker, Third Bishop of Western New York, died at the age of 78 years. His funeral was largely attended and among those who assembled to do him honor were four bishops and seventy-two priests. His episcopate commenced in 1896, and continued for twenty years. He was followed by the Rt. Rev. Charles Henry Brent, former missionary Bishop of the Philippine Islands who was elected on October 2d, 1917. At the present time Bishop Brent is temporarily engaged in special Y. M. C. A. work in France. He is a native of Canada and the author of half a dozen or more books on religious subjects.

ANOTHER BISHOP FROM THE PHILIPPINES AND THE NEW CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

There also came from the Philippines the Rt. Rev. Dennis J. Dougherty, who was installed on June 7, 1916, as Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo to succeed the late Rt. Rev. Charles H. Colton, Fourth Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo, who died on Sunday, May 9th, 1915, before the completion of the new cathedral on Delaware Avenue at the corner of West Utica Street, costing upwards of \$1,000,000. Its great nave and side aisles and stained glass windows distinguish it from all other churches in Buffalo. Its interior lends itself to still further cathedral adornment. It presents an exterior of white marble and is of Gothic design, but is lacking in the superb architectural beauty and grace of the great cathedral, of ancient Gothic and modern Italian design, at Milan with its profusion of pinnacles, statues and flying arches. The Buffalo cathedral has something of the elevation, but not the other proportions of that exquisitely designed and superbly ornamented Italian structure, whose great windows, sky-pointing spires and towering octagonal cupola distinguish it from other European cathedrals. The Milan Cathedral of white marble is 486 feet long, 189 feet wide and the arch of its nave is 157 feet high. Its tower rises 356 feet above the pavement. "It is," said Shelley, "a most astonishing work of art" and is one of the impressive cathedrals of the world. Its setting under the blue Italian sky and within plain view of the Alps is conducive to its uplift and superb proportions.

Americans may learn much of architecture as well as of art from such architectural conceptions and creations in the old world. Saint Louis Church on Main street is one of the latest types of the modern Gothic in church architecture.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTENARY.

With the week beginning May 6, 1917, the Methodist Churches of Buffalo opened at Elmwood Music Hall the centenary of the establishment of the first Methodist church in Buffalo. The exercises were preceded by a parade of 5,000 Sunday School pupils from the various churches in Buffalo from the McKinley Monument to Elmwood Music Hall in the afternoon of Sunday, May 6th. Several bands were in the parade. The exercises at the hall were presided over by the Rev. William Burt, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Buffalo Area, formerly and for many years missionary secretary at Rome, Italy, and thereafter Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the European Area.

Among the speakers during the centenary celebration were Rev. S. D. Chown, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Toronto Area; Rev. Joseph F. Berry, Bishop of the Philadelphia Area, formerly of Buffalo; Grand Chaplain Thompson of Toronto, Rev. William S. Mitchell, Rev. Charles E. Guthrie, Rev. Thomas O. Grieves, and Rev. Frederick H. Coman, all of Buffalo; former Senator George B. Burd, and others. Members of the Epworth League and other organizations participated in the exercises continuing in various churches through the week. Patriotism was the predominant tenor of all the addresses.

It is worthy of note that both the Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal Churches established themselves in this city in the year 1817, four years after the burning of Buffalo.

THE BAIRD AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNERS.

One of the most enjoyable dinners of the year was that given by Hon. Frank B. Baird on retiring from the presidency of the Chamber of Commerce on January 4th, 1917, which was attended by 70 members of that organization. Among the guests were six former presidents of the Chamber of Commerce and four City Councilmen. At that meeting announcement was made of the proposed retirement of Richard C. O'Keefe, Esq., who had served the Chamber of Commerce for four years most efficiently as the general secretary. He was succeeded by George C. Lehmann, then the first assistant secretary.

The annual dinner of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce occurred at the Lafayette Hotel on January 9th, which was attended by 500 banqueters. Prominent speakers entertained those in attendance on the engrossing public matters of the day.

Occasionally thereafter, the Chamber of Commerce received or entertained distinguished commissioners and officials from foreign countries whose mission here was to acquaint the people of this country with European war conditions and the dangers that threatened the western nations. Among these were the French, the British and Russian Commissions.

LAWYERS' CLUB.

On March 3d, Former President William Howard Taft addressed the Lawyers' Club of Buffalo at the Genesee Hotel. He said: "War is a great evil, but there are things much worse than war. If our nation is worth sustaining, we must stand up! There are things more to be avoided than war. When the rights of this nation have been invaded, when the rights of the citizens have been

ruthlessly disregarded, when without warning its men, women and children have been hurried before their Maker, and the nation that under the Constitution grants them rights and protection on the high seas, does not extend protection, it has failed to live up to the legacy of patriotism begotten of the courage of its ancestors of 1776 and 1861."

NEW LACKAWANNA STATION.

On February 7, 1917, the new station of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad was opened at the foot of Main street, thus adding to railroad transportation necessities a commodious and well equipped terminal, much needed in this city, where the passenger traffic is rapidly increasing with the years.

EXCHANGE STREET DEPOT.

On February 3d, the New York Central Railroad station on Exchange Street was partly burned and some valuable records were destroyed.

EVENTS GROWING OUT OF THE GREAT WAR.

Prior to and after the declaration of war against the Imperial German Government on April 6, 1917, there were superimposed upon the normal civic life of the city, the extraordinary preliminary activities of a "mighty and puissant nation," arousing itself from its lethargy and from its long complacent sense of security to a partial realization that it was to be a participant in the most frightful, ruthless and destructive war in the history of the race, a war that threatened to overthrow the very structure of civilization itself. The present generation had known little about the horrors of war and on account of our remoteness from Europe and national complications, and the observance of certain principles of diplomacy, we were lulled into a sense of national security. But that was shattered when war was declared and this nation was confronted with war exigencies of which it never dreamed. Coming events cast their shadows before them, and crowded upon each other in such rapid succession that the press of the city has been filled with reports of the city's activities, preparatory to entering the great war. It is not necessary nor is it possible to enumerate in this address more than a few of such activities. The history of the war undoubtedly will hereafter be written when military records become available and real conditions are fully understood.

A few matters occurring here merit special attention.

The United States proposed to raise a national Red Cross Fund of one hundred million dollars. Buffalo's quota of that amount was one and a half million dollars, which was to be raised by July 1, 1917. A committee was organized on June 7th for the purpose. Frank S. McGraw was its efficient chairman, and associated with him were gentlemen who did not cease their labors until Buffalo's entire quota was raised.

Miss Katherine Stinson, *en route* from Chicago to Washington, via New York, after flying from Chicago, flew from Buffalo to Albany on June 22d without alighting, conveying messages of cheer.

On April 4th, a mass meeting was held at Convention Hall and was addressed by Mayor Fuhrmann, William J. Donovan, Rev. Andrew V. V. Raymond, Hon. Adelbert Moot, John Lord O'Brian and William L. Marcy, at which resolutions presented by Mr. Ansley Wilcox were adopted, pledging support of the citizens assembled, to the President. On the next day the Senate adopted the resolution by vote of eighty-two to six, declaring in substance that a state of war exists, and on the following day the House of Representatives by vote of three hundred seventy-three to fifty concurred in resolution which was immediately signed by the President. That resolution authorized the Chief Executive to employ all the resources of the nation to prosecute war against the Imperial German Government. It was announced that the draft quota of Buffalo would be 10,000 men.

The President immediately issued his proclamation declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government and directing all officers, civil and military, of the United States to exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war.

On April 6th, two Buffalo divisions of Naval Militia were ordered to assemble at their headquarters in the 74th Armory. The third division was under command of Lieutenant Thomas Maytham and the fifth division was under command of Lieutenant Arthur E. Brock. The other divisions were located in other parts of the state. The two divisions of naval militia left Buffalo on April 8th destined for the sea-coast to enter service with the Atlantic fleet.

The first United States Liberty Loan of two billion dollars of 3½% bonds was open to popular subscription from May 2d to June 15th, 1917. There was a patriotic parade in aid of that campaign on the evening of June 5, 1917. Buffalo people subscribed for upwards of \$25,000,000.00, which was more than Buffalo's quota.

The second United States Liberty Loan of three billion dollars of 4% bonds was open to popular subscription from October 4th, to October 27th. Mr. Walter P. Cooke was the resourceful chairman of the local committee, comprising a large number of prominent citizens, which undertook the raising of Buffalo's quota of \$55,600,000. Of this amount the teachers and school children of Buffalo subscribed and pledged over a million dollars. That exceeded the amount raised in any other part of the country. Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, cabled General Pershing in France that "Buffalo made the best record of any school system of the state and that means in all America."

The people of Buffalo raised toward the second United States Liberty Loan, sixty million two hundred and twelve thousand dollars.

Dr. John H. Finley, in speaking of the matter, said: "I am proud of Buffalo, although there was a time when I used to sit up nights and pray for Buffalo. I want the Liberty Bond ownership banner which hung over Chairman Cooke's chair. Some years ago I got a piece of furniture for the state museum from the office of Walter P. Cooke. It was the desk that belonged to Grover Cleveland. Now I want to place that banner on the Cleveland desk and write on it that it came from the chairman of the committee that raised \$60,000,000 for the second Liberty Loan in the home of Grover Cleveland."

The outpouring of treasures in Buffalo, however, was no more indicative of loyalty to our country in the pending crisis than was the response of young men of eligible age from 21 to 31 years to the call for registration on June 5th under military conscription when 57,447 enrolled. Of the number 18,021 claimed the right of exemption.

On June 14th there was a parade of draft eligibles. On September 5th, the first company of ninety men out of the 4,508 which the city was to contribute, left for Wrightstown, New Jersey. No public demonstration or martial music signalled their departure. On September 8th another contingent of 113 drafted men left for Camp Dix. Since that date several other contingents have gone forward and many Buffalo homes now display the service banner and still more are to follow. No one can see the end of the outpouring of the young men yet to be to form an army powerful enough to turn the tide of battle against the Central Powers.

FEDERAL SELECTIVE CONSCRIPTION BOARD.

For Division No. 3 of the Federal Judicial District of Western New York, comprising Counties of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Genesee and Wyoming, there was appointed by the President under the terms of the Selective Service Act approved May 18th, 1917, otherwise known as the Draft Law, a District Board, composed of Hon. John Lord O'Brian, Chairman, Buffalo, Dr. Allen N. Moore of Lockport, Secretary, Hon. John G. Wickser of Buffalo, William W. Smallwood of Warsaw and Hon. William H. Crosby of Buffalo. Mr. O'Brian resigned October 1, 1917, and Mr. George G. Davidson, Jr., of Buffalo, was subsequently appointed in his place and elected Chairman of the Board. Mr. George E. Houck was chosen Chief Clerk of the Board.

The District Board has appellate jurisdiction over 26 Local Boards as well as original jurisdiction on claims for deferred classification under the draft rules on account of industrial and agricultural grounds.

Under the first draft, the quota to be furnished by the 26 Local Boards was 7540 and to obtain this quota, the District Board examined 1482 original claims, 714 of them being on Industrial grounds and 768 on agricultural grounds. The appeals taken to the District Board from the decision of the Local Board amounted to 2,020, 727 of which were granted by the District Board.

Under the new regulations promulgated by the Provost Marshal General's office for the conduct of the classification of the remaining registrants, who have not actually been inducted into the Military Service through the draft machinery, it is estimated that 30,000 cases remain to be passed upon by the District Board.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

All registrants were required to fill out and file, with the Local Exemption Boards, a Questionnaire, which automatically results in the classification for exemption claims of all such registrants, to aid them in making answers to the questions propounded. The attorneys of Buffalo were requested to devote a few hours a day to the matter. Several hundred responded to the call and gratuitously gave their services for two or more weeks in December in assisting registrants to make proper answer to the Questionnaire.

The hundreds and thousands so called into military service are now in training at cantonments or possibly *en route* to or actually in France. In addition to the number thus called to the service

of the country under the conscription act were also the three Buffalo organizations formerly known as the 74th New York Infantry, N. G., U. S., the 65th New York Infantry, N. G., U. S., and Troop I, 1st New York Cavalry, N. G. U. S. In 1916 and 1917 these military organizations underwent transformation. A brief *résumé* of the evolution through which the organizations went is contained in the following official summary report to the Adjutant General of the State of New York sent me in advance of its publication for use on this occasion.

74TH N. Y. INFANTRY REGIMENT, N. G. U. S.

Company E changed to Machine Gun Company, June 27th, 1916, and Company E of the 65th Infantry transferred to 74th Infantry with the same company designation. The regiment was mustered into Federal service for Mexican Border duty July 1st, 1916; mustered out February 28th, 1917; mustered in again March 31st, 1917, and drafted into Federal service August 5th, 1917.

That regiment of 1,800 men and officers under Colonel Arthur Kemp underwent further changes and its units were distributed to form other and larger military organizations.

TROOP I, 1st NEW YORK CAVALRY, N. G. U. S.

Mustered into Federal service for Mexican Border duty June 30th, 1916; mustered out, March 13th, 1917; drafted into Federal service, August 5th, 1917.

65TH N. Y. INFANTRY, CHANGED TO 3D N. Y. FIELD ARTILLERY, N. G. U. S.

This organization was disbanded and the companies consolidated as to form six batteries, as follows: Battery A, from Companies L and M; Battery B, from Companies A and F; Battery C, from Companies H and K; Battery D, from Companies C and D; Battery E, from Company I, and Battery F, from Companies B and G.

This organization was known as the 3d New York Field Artillery; was mustered into Federal service, August 5, 1916; mustered out, March 17, 1917; drafted into Federal service August 5, 1917. Part of the officers of the old 65th Infantry were transferred to this organization and others who were not needed were placed on the reserve list.

The members of these organizations are now in training in Europe or in American cantonments preparatory to entering the foreign military service.

I will not undertake to trace the changes in the line of officers of these military organizations. Those may be found in the history of the organizations themselves. All have enlisted in the great war for humanity, and together augment Buffalo's contribution to the military force of the United States by approximately 4,000 trained soldiers.

THE BUFFALO BASE HOSPITAL.

On May 22d, Dr. Marshall Clinton, head of staff of Buffalo Base Hospital announced that the personnel of the organization was complete and in readiness for service. The staff numbered 226 persons. The Red Cross Chapter announced that \$72,500 had been raised to establish a hospital with 500 beds. Its equipment of staff, nurses, surgical appliances and other facilities was turned over to Major Guy V. Bukke, M. C. U. S. A., on August 21, 1917, and embarked on November 21st for Europe. It arrived in France in December. It represented an outlay of more than \$110,000.

THE ALLIED BAZAR.

That was organized and began on May 23d to raise funds to aid the starving and suffering millions of victims of war. It was held in the Broadway Auditorium. It was opened by Archer A. Landon, President of the Chamber of Commerce, on May 23d, and was well attended during the entire week.

On various days and evenings representatives of different nationalities, residents of Buffalo, enlivened the Bazar in displaying and selling their goods and wares.

Hon. James W. Gerard and Hon. James M. Beck spoke at the Allied Bazar, May 29th. Frank L. Talbot, Bazar manager, announced June 2d, that the Allied Bazar general fund amounted to \$112,778, and other receipts were to follow. Mr. Talbot reported on June 4th that the general fund would amount to \$140,000. The net receipts, however, after payment of all expenses, were afterwards found to be \$101,227.33.

THE Y. M. C. A. FUND.

On October 27th a committee was formed for that purpose. Arthur N. Cotton was designated for the raising of Buffalo's quota of the \$35,000,000 for the work of the Army and Navy Y. M. C. A. with the American, French, Italian and Russian troops. Campaign week extended from November 11th to November 18th.

FRATERNAL WAR RELIEF FUNDS.

During the year all fraternal organizations in Buffalo undertook the raising of funds for war relief purposes. Many thousands of dollars were contributed by Buffalonians to these, some of which were but parts of national funds aggregating millions of dollars.

During the year the women of Buffalo organized the Women's Service Bureau for War Service. The women entering the service must have passed an examination in motor operation and construction. Many qualified for and are engaged in that service.

CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES.

For the first time in half a century has been pressed upon the attention of Americans the necessity of the conservation of their resources and especially of their food and coal supplies. To ensure that the National Food Commission was established and all such necessities are now under governmental regulations.

The shortage in the coal supply for Buffalo has been a hardship to thousands as its shortage in other cities has been and still is a hardship to their inhabitants.

There has been a general shortage of sugar all through the East and the prices of breadstuffs and meats have reflected the shortage of those necessities.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

Lars S. Potter, a grandson of the painter, the late Lars Gustav Sellstedt, was decorated in September with a war cross by the French government for his work with the American Ambulance in heavy fighting. Mr. Potter was held in a dugout for eight hours by the heavy fire and parts of his ambulance were shot away twice while he was rescuing French soldiers, who were severely wounded.

For distinguished service, the entire Norton Harjes unit of the ambulance corps was awarded with *le croix de guerre* by the French Government. Livingston Fryer, Thomas T. Ramsdell, Jr., and John A. Chamberlain, all of Buffalo and in that unit, shared in that honor.

HOME DEFENSE RESERVE.

Under the statute so authorizing it, during May a committee was formed to recruit a Home Defense Reserve. General and former Mayor Edgar B. Jewett, former Mayor Erastus C. Knight, Captain Hamilton Ward and others, organized about fifteen companies of 100

men each to do home guard work in case of emergency. They were uniformed and equipped with rifles by Erie County. The organization will be maintained during the war.

SOME MINOR HAPPENINGS.

On March 7th, Ira N. Hollis, formerly chief engineer in the United States Navy, and then President of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, addressed the Engineering Society of Buffalo on "Services to our Country in this Crisis."

On March 8th, Major General George W. Goethals spoke before the Central Railway Club on "Some of the difficulties encountered in the construction of the Panama Canal."

On March 22d the Marquis de Valverde of Madrid, representing the King of Spain in connection with a collection of Spanish tapestries exhibited at the Art Gallery, and Senor Algara, former Consul of Mexico, were guests of the Buffalo Club. The tapestries were loaned to Archer Huntington for the Hispania Society of America by King Alphonso of Spain. Distinguished Spaniards were present at the opening of the tapestry exhibit.

On April 1st Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard discussed before the Twentieth Century Club, "America on the seas."

Brigadier General Samuel S. Welch led a large patriotic parade on September 22d, preceeding the mass meeting of loyalty to the flag in the Broadway Auditorium. The 74th Regiment, the 3d Artillery and veterans of the Civil War had places of honor in the parade. Several thousand youths awaiting to answer the call to colors made a fine showing.

On October 15th Dr. Augustus H. Shearer from Chicago, sometime professor of history at Trinity, Dartmouth, Hamilton and Northwestern University, was made librarian at the Grosvenor Library. He is Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard.

During October Asbury and Delaware Avenue Methodist Episcopal churches were united under the name, Asbury-Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church, at the corner of Delaware Avenue and Tupper Street.

On October 19th the Soldiers and Sailors Club at Delaware avenue and West Chippewa street, in the old Meadows home, was opened for men in the military service. The club room was donated by Willis K. Jackson, who allowed men in the service, either Americans or our allies, to enjoy its comforts indefinitely. The club has four lower rooms, a parlor, a rest room, a billiard room and a reading room. A large supply of coal was sent in. Five members of the New York

infantry cleaned, papered and made the rooms comfortable. Men may there read, write, play the piano or play at cards.

On October 20th, 4,000 pupils of night school marched in the Liberty Loan parade from McKinley monument to Elmwood Music Hall to hear Hon. George W. Wickersham, formerly attorney general of the United States, speak in support of the Liberty bond campaign.

October 28th last to November 15th, Buffalo's quota of 17,000 Christmas packets for our Americans in France was exceeded. This work was directed by the local chapter of the Red Cross. Contributions of money or goods were accepted, the goods packed and shipped to the Red Cross, while the money was used to buy gifts for the soldiers. Cigarettes, tobacco, pipes, playing cards, chocolate, bath towels, compasses, hard candy, chewing gum and books were suggested.

The people have awakened to the horrors of the great war. Women, as actively as men, are engaged in preparing supplies for hospital service, knitting garments for the soldiers in the field and performing manifold services to aid in supplying our armies for their supreme efforts to win the war. Churches, clubs and other organizations generally have also been engaged in such unusual activities.

NEW CITY HOSPITAL.

The new city hospital, four buildings of twenty to compose the Grider street group, was opened for inspection on November 27th. Dr. Edward Clark of the State Department of Health was one of the speakers and he brought with him a message of congratulations to the board of managers and city officials from Dr. Herman M. Biggs, State Commissioner of Health. Dr. Clark said the new hospital was a foremost example of municipal hospitals in the state. The hospital site covers 83 acres. Its capacity is 273 beds, 249 of which are devoted to tubercular patients and the other 24 to psychopathic cases. There is room for 100 more beds, which will be installed as occasion demands.

Dr. Edward J. Meyer, president of the board of managers, tendered the use of the hospital to the Government.

The foregoing review of some of the events of the year (and there were others for which there is not now opportunity to speak), suffices to show the wide range of activities largely occasioned by the great war which have engaged the attention of Buffalonians during the past year. A detailed record thereof may be made in the future for all such are part of the history of Buffalo, to preserve whose history this Society was established.

SOME PROMINENT BUFFALONIANS DIED DURING 1917.

In the Secretary's report will appear the names of our members who have died during the year 1917. Some of them will receive special mention. In addition thereto names of a few others who have been in public life and who have in various fields of endeavor contributed to the upbuilding of Buffalo or to its manifold activities may be briefly mentioned. No list, however, can be complete and in attempting to enumerate some there is danger of unintentionally omitting others whose services may have been worthy of special mention. However, only a very few, some members and others not, will here be mentioned. Some of these may not have rendered official service. All such were so well known for some form of activity as to take them out of the category of merely private citizens.

On January 3d, Dr. George W. Grabenstatter died. He was a surgeon in the United States Army in the Philippines during the war with Spain.

Henry Schaefer, a member of the Buffalo Grade Crossing Commission, died on January 20th.

On January 29th Professor Carl A. Goehle passed away. He had been an instructor in penmanship in the Public Schools for thirty years or longer.

On March 9th Captain Frank J. Killeen, for many years employed on the Police Force, was taken.

On March 14th former Lieutenant-Governor William F. Sheehan died in New York City. His remains were brought to Buffalo and the funeral occurred in St. Joseph's Cathedral. In early life he ferried longshoremen across the Buffalo river to the docks and elevators. He attended St. Joseph's College, studied law, was elected a member of Assembly for seven consecutive years, commencing in 1884 and was chosen Speaker of the Assembly in 1886, and thereafter until 1891, when he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the State and served one term. He was the New York State member of the National Democratic Committee and was opposed in 1892 to the renomination of former President Grover Cleveland, also a former Buffalonian, as the democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States. Mr. Cleveland, however, was nominated, elected and commenced his second presidential term on March 4, 1893. Mr. Sheehan secured large state appropriations for Buffalo harbor improvement and was one of the forceful legislators at Albany for a decade. At one time he was a member of the Buffalo law firm of Tabor, Sheehan, Cunneen & Coatsworth. Later in New York he was a member of the law firm of Parker, Hatch & Sheehan and

still later he was associated with Judge Edward W. Hatch, formerly of Buffalo.

On April 7th at Pasadena, California, Willis Ormel Chapin passed away. Of him I will speak later.

On May 2d occurred the death of Bishop William D. Walker, already mentioned.

On June 12th Judge George A. Lewis was found dead in bed. He was judge of the Municipal Court of Buffalo from 1886 to 1897. He was a member of the State Board of Parole from 1907 to 1911.

On August 3d Dr. Walter D. Greene died quite suddenly, while attending a family reunion at West Falls, New York. Dr. Greene was City Health Officer in 1890-1 and Health Commissioner from 1902 to 1906, inclusive. In those positions he rendered important services to Buffalo.

Rev. Albert L. Grein, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church for a score of years, after a prolonged illness, died on September 16th. He was widely known for his good works and one of the influential young clergymen of the city who had risen from boyhood in the good will of the people of Buffalo.

On September 23d, Hon. John N. Scatcherd died. At one time he was president of the Merchant's Exchange of Buffalo. He was a member of the Roosevelt-Green Canal Commission and upon the motion of Mr. Scatcherd that commission finally decided to recommend the enlargement of the Erie Canal to accommodate barges of the carrying capacity of a thousand tons. At the time of his death he was a member of the Buffalo Terminal Commission.

On October 18th Hon. Simon Seibert was taken. He was a member of Assembly for 1894 and 1895 and a State Senator for the three year term of 1896-8. He was one of the Buffalo Fire Commissioners from 1903 until that office was abolished under the new Charter.

Hon. John G. Wallenmeier, Jr., state treasurer, for the years 1905 and 1906, though a resident of Tonawanda, was so well known in Buffalo where he was engaged in business many years, and where he was stricken down in the Masonic Temple on October 29th, that his death, two nights later, was widely deplored in Buffalo as well as in Tonawanda.

On November 26th, Ottomar Reinecke, at the age of 77 years, died. From 1896 to 1900 he was city park commissioner and for many years he was the editor and publisher of the *Freie Presse* of this city. He was a genial cultured gentleman of a scientific turn of mind. He was a naturalist and made a choice collection of birds. He will be

long remembered for his public services as a park commissioner and as a forceful and graceful writer on current public questions. He occasionally attended the lectures given by the Society and he enjoyed meeting those engaged in historical research work. He was a prominent factor in the affairs of this city for a generation and was respected by all the older citizens of Buffalo, who knew him best.

On November 27th, suddenly died John G. Cloak, at one time city park commissioner. At the time of his death and for several years prior thereto he was one of the trustees of the City and County Hall.

Martin H. Blechen died on December 1st. He was a man of high ideals. He did not hold office, though he served in many civic movements, in which he took a deep interest. Political nominations were tendered him but all these he felt constrained to decline on account of his health. He was one of the popular citizens of Buffalo.

On December 23d at Berkeley, California, Rev. Frank S. Fitch, D.D., died, and his funeral services were held in Buffalo on December 30, 1917. For thirty-three years he had been the active pastor of the First Congregational Church of Buffalo, and sustained a relation to the churches of that denomination in Western New York in some respects not unlike that of the bishops of other churches toward their church organizations. He was a trustee of Oberlin College, Vice-President of the American Missionary Association, and a member of various civic organizations. His long and varied services and his widely known good works for the uplift of people within and without his church have elicited favorable comment from clergymen of other denominations. He was remarkably endowed by nature as well as by long study, travel and meditation. He was genuine in his friendship, generous in his impulses, catholic in his views, liberal in his opinions, broad in his sympathies, faultless in diction, felicitous and eloquent in speech, and possessed all the qualities of mind and heart of a great religious leader. He was of that class of liberally minded, well poised and commanding personalities from which bishops in some denominations are chosen.

On December 30th, Edward Hallam Movius, a native of Buffalo and for many years a practicing attorney of this city, died in New York City. During the latter years of his life, he was the general counsel of the New Jersey Central Railroad Company. He was formerly a member of the law firm of Crowley & Movius and later of the law firm of Allen, Movius & Wilcox, which represented the West Shore Railroad at the time of its entry into this city in 1883.

WILLIS ORMEL CHAPIN.

As already stated and as will appear in the secretary's report, this Society has sustained notable losses in its membership during the past year. No loss will be more keenly felt in and out of this Society than that occasioned by the death of Willis Ormel Chapin, at Pasadena, California, on April 7th. His influence in the realm of art was unique. When outside of his beautiful home on Delaware Avenue and not within some palatial gallery of the masterpieces of art or not in close study of nature itself, he was always pleased to find some friend who shared with himself the refinement and idealism of the æsthetic. In much of his work, he rose to heights of achievement in art unattained ever but by few in this city. By nature as well as by cultural attainments he was himself an artist of æsthetic contemplation. In his selection and priceless gift to the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy of the beautiful engravings, now occupying Gallery VI in the Albright Art Gallery, Mr. Chapin has made it possible for others to share the humanizing and refining influence of æsthetic enjoyment, which calls into exercise the imagination and is therefore of the highest intellectual order. His varied contributions to the æsthetic uplift of this city cannot be measured. He loved art. He wrote some music, did some sketching of landscape, presided over the activities of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and of the Albright Art Gallery, wrote the history of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and contributed to literature his exhaustive, critical and discriminating production, entitled: "The Masters and Masterpieces of Engraving," published by Harper & Brothers in 1893. That is an enduring monument to the great masters of art itself, in which their excellencies are brought out. He treats them in a sympathetic but discriminating manner, so that his review of the various schools of engravers and their achievements is illuminating and a real contribution to art. His researches extended through the art galleries and museums of Europe and America as appears from the text and illustrations of his great work. It has become one of the authoritative reference works for all students of the art. In reading it one is led, as Sir Joshua Reynolds cautioned the students of the Royal Academy, "to the admiration of nothing but that which is truly admirable" in art, so critically has Mr. Chapin elucidated the subject. If time permitted, it would be edifying to quote some of its passages and glean therefrom some of its treasures. His treatment of historical engravings would be specially interesting. Mr. Chapin did not limit his activities to art alone. He was a lawyer by profession. He became a member of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1886 and of its board of managers in 1908, and served continually

in that capacity until his death in April, 1917. His colleagues on the board of managers of this Society deplore his loss to this institution. In his death art in this city has sustained its greatest loss since the death of the late Lars G. Sellstedt.

NOTED CELEBRATION.

On July 4, 1917, at Rome, New York. this Society participated in the centenary of the commencement there of the construction of the original Erie Canal. Your president was the presiding officer of that celebration; and Hon. George Clinton, also representing this Society, made the principal historical address, which will appear together with a full report of the exercises, in the Publications of this Society.

In these rather tumultuous times this Society has pursued its activities, maintained its lecture course and conducted its affairs without interruption during the year.

Mr. Frank H. Severance, its secretary, represented the Society at both the State Historical Association and the American Historical Association annual meetings.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

During the past year Mr. William G. Justice, former Comptroller of the City of Buffalo, who removed from Buffalo and took up his residence in Florida, resigned from the Board of Managers, and the vacancy was filled by the election of Captain Evan Hollister, now in the Federal Military Service of his country. We are sorry to lose Comptroller Justice from the Board and from Buffalo, where he is universally respected.

I improve this opportunity to express to my colleagues on the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society my personal appreciation and tender to them my grateful acknowledgments for their hearty coöperation in the administration of the Society's affairs during the past year. They are also entitled to the gratitude of the members of the Society for their watchful administration of its affairs.

At present the officers and members of the Board of Managers, exclusive of the city officials, are the following: Andrew Langdon, Honorary President; Henry W. Hill, President; Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President; Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer; Albert H. Briggs, M.D., Lee H. Smith, M.D., John G. Wickser, William A. Galpin, Howard H. Baker, Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett Rich, Henry W. Sprague, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, Loran L. Lewis, Jr., George A. Stringer, Captain Evan Hollister, Edward F. Hawley and Carlton R. Perrine.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 8, 1918.

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

Despite the distractions, the burdens and losses of the war, this Society has not only held its own, during 1917, but has made progress in several ways. Numerically, it is stronger than it was a year ago. Our losses have been: By death, 16; of whom 12 were residents of Buffalo; by resignation, 2; dropped for non-payment of dues, 4. We gained 32 new members, one of them a life member.

The list of deaths in 1917 is as follows:

		MEMBERSHIP
Jan. 7	Miss Jeannette Sherman.....	Resident
Jan. 10	Mrs. Charles Daniels.....	Life
Mar. 18	Dr. Harry Mead.....	Resident
Mar. 25	Phin M. Miller.....	"
Apr. 7	Willis O. Chapin.....	"
May 10	William A. Brodie, Geneseo, N. Y.....	Corresponding
May 11	F. L. A. Cady.....	Resident
May 11	Dr. Charles B. Knowlton.....	Life
May 31	Miss Kate E. Crary.....	Resident
June 24	William H. Samson, New York City.....	Corresponding
June 25	William A. Joyce.....	Resident
July 12	Bryant B. Glenny.....	"
Aug. 3	Walter D. Greene, M.D.....	"
Aug. 22	Rev. H. E. Hayden, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	Corresponding
Nov. 28	John G. Cloak.....	Resident
Dec. 17	Mrs. Nathaniel Brown.....	"
Dec. 29	Edward Hallam Movius, New York City...	"

Of these, Mr. Chapin was an active and valued member of the Board of Managers. Mr. William H. Samson, formerly editor of the *Rochester Post-Express*, but in recent years vice-president of the Anderson Auction Company of New York City, had long been a capable and critical student of Western New York history, and a helpful friend of this institution. The Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, who had filled various offices of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for a quarter century, with fidelity and ability, had often placed our institution under obligation for his courtesies in supplying publications for our library.

Library.—During the year, 569 volumes, including bound pamphlets, have been added to the library. As in past years, most of them have come by gift or exchange. The purchases have chiefly related to New York State and our regional history, with a few reference works of general scope. The genealogical section has received but few accessions, partly because of their high cost and limited use; partly because they usually duplicate similar accessions in the Grosvenor Library. There is no need of building up duplicate collections of this class of books in Buffalo. The Public Library, the Grosvenor and the Historical Society are undertaking, in some measure, not to duplicate each other's collections; but as yet this reasonable and economic ideal is but imperfectly lived up to.

An especial effort is being made to collect for the library books and pamphlets printed and published in Buffalo. This explains why some of our purchases are not historical in character. It is deemed desirable, however, to collect and preserve Buffalo-made books. This city is not and never has been, notable as a publishing center. For more than a century, however, its presses have been turning out books, occasionally books of wide note. The Secretary's purpose is, when the field has been as thoroughly gleaned as possible, to print an annotated list of Buffalo-printed books, thus making a historical record of Buffalo books corresponding with the bibliography of the periodical press of Buffalo, published by this Society in 1915.

A few manuscripts of local interest have been bought at auction sales; but the most notable accession for the year in this department came from Mr. Henry R. Howland, who has given to the Society a valuable collection of the papers of John Porteous, relating to trade in New York and Canada and throughout the region of the Great Lakes, in the last half of the Eighteenth Century. Mr. Howland has also given us a quantity of valuable notes and unpublished studies written by himself, relating to the same period. It is the ardent desire of your secretary to utilize this valuable material in a volume which shall relate the operations of the British in our region, during the period of their control, from 1760 to 1796, thus supplementing and continuing the history of this region from the period treated of in "An Old Frontier of France." All that lacks is time to prosecute the necessary study.

During the year the annual grant of \$100, which for a number of years has been received from the State, has been cut off, the appropriation for the present being withheld from reference libraries.

One other point relating to our library is merely a repetition of what I have said in years past: Our shelves are too crowded for

convenient use or proper classification. Apparently we must cut down on the number of newspaper files to be bound or preserved, for lack of storage room. The only satisfactory solution of the difficulty will be the enlargement of the building.

About 50 duplicate volumes of old newspapers have been turned over, on exchange account, to the Grosvenor Library.

During the year, estimates were obtained for building additional stacks in the newspaper room; but the cost was such that it seemed advisable to postpone this work. It is hoped we can go ahead with it this year.

Publications.—During the year a two-volume work, entitled "An Old Frontier of France," by Frank H. Severance, has been completed and published for the Society by Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. The work constitutes volumes XX and XXI, in the Publications Series of this Society. Volume XXII, now in press, will be issued early in the present year. Its leading feature will be a history of the University of Buffalo, by Mr. Julian Park.

There is also in preparation, in conjunction with Hamilton College, a volume to be devoted to the journals and letters of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Senecas and Oneidas, Government agent and interpreter, and founder of Hamilton College. For many years this Society has owned manuscript copies of two of his early unpublished journals, giving accounts of his experiences in Western New York in 1765 and 1788. An introductory biographical sketch of Mr. Kirkland is now in preparation by Mr. Joseph A. Ibbotson, librarian of Hamilton College.

Your president and secretary have been consulted by gentlemen who were prominently connected with the Pan-American Exposition, as to whether the Historical Society can take over an unfinished history of the exposition, in part written by Mr. Edwin Fleming, carry it to completion and give it suitable publication. Inquiries are now being made as to the probable cost and other conditions of such an undertaking.

Museum.—For the first time in the history of this institution, some of our possessions have been arranged in adequate up-to-date show cases. Six glass and bronze cases of the Library Bureau standard type, have been placed in the entrance hall. They contain weapons, Oriental objects, and relics of early days; are dust-tight and satisfactory.

Equally useful are double wing-frames, added to the gallery, for exhibition of pictures, maps, cards, flags and other flat objects. Some

of these are used as bulletin boards for various posters, maps, etc., relating to the present war.

An exhibition of Army and Navy recruiting posters, and of Red Cross posters, was an interesting feature during the autumn. The flags of the allied nations in the war will soon be flown in the central court.

Many interesting and valuable gifts have been received. A plaster bust of Gen. Grant, the work of the late Mr. F. W. Humble, a former architect of Buffalo, was presented by Mrs. Humble. A bust of Noah Webster the lexicographer, was presented by his grandson, Mr. Robert Webster Day. A plaster bust of William H. Seward was given by Mrs. Harriet Gibbard.

Among portraits of former citizens of Buffalo received during the year, are: Mrs. Susan Cook Claraluna, a teacher in School 14, prior to 1860; and Hon. John B. Sackett; also, an album of charter members of the Buffalo Club, presented by the Club; and an album of former members of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the gift of Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard.

The beautiful oil painting of Niagara, entitled "The Cave of the Winds," painted by a former well-known Buffalonian, Mr. Reginald C. Coxe, which has hung in the museum for some years, has remained the property of the artist. It has recently been purchased from him by Mrs. Charles Cary, Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey and Mrs. Ansley Wilcox of this city, and by them presented to the Buffalo Historical Society. It is one of our most admired and most valued possessions.

Another gift of much distinction is received from Mrs. William D. Walker, who has presented to the institution the Oxford Divinity robe, University degree hoods and caps of her late husband, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York; together with his Episcopal rings, seals and cross; and a number of articles, souvenirs of this diocese or of his earlier work as Bishop of North Dakota. A special case is to be provided for these articles.

Of exceptional historic interest is the gift of string wampum, and of a wampum belt. The former was given by the Seneca nation to Col. James Wadsworth, for services in connection with the Treaty of 1797. The latter was received by the Holland Land Company from the Tuscaroras with their petition for an additional square mile of land. Both have for many years been in the keeping of Messrs. Van Eeghen & Co., Amsterdam, and during the past summer were presented by them to this institution.

The gift came about through the good offices of Mr. Paul D. Evans, who after studying the Holland Land Co. papers in the keeping of

this Society, continued his studies in Holland, and interested the house of Van Eeghen in the Buffalo institution.

From Mrs. Charles Collord was received an interesting sedan chair, said to have been used in Japan. Mr. George Alfred Stringer has given us a silver cup presented to the late Judge Jesse Walker when a young man, as a prize for a poem submitted in competition at the opening of the Buffalo Theater, June 22, 1835. Among numerous articles from the estate of the late John Cronin is a small United States flag vouched for as having been flown by Admiral Farragut at the Battle of Mobile Bay. Mrs. E. R. Pomares has given us the dress sword of Lt. LaRue Reeves, U. S. Revenue Cutter Service. From Mr. George A. Stringer is received the sword of Capt. Wilson H. Gray, Co. B., 116th N. Y. Volunteers, serving in the Civil War. The first pair of button-hole scissors, made by the inventor Charles W. Amidon in 1838, have been received from his son, Charles W. Amidon. Mr. D. M. Silver has added numerous articles of value to the collection of Indian articles, presented by him to the Society. From many friends have come many articles, a complete record of which is kept.

Building.—The museum has had a thorough cleaning, the lecture room received needed repairs and painting, considerable painting and plastering was done in the basement, and the plumbing and fixtures in the women's toilet-room on the main floor were renewed. Natural gas has been piped into the boiler-room, merely for the convenience of having hot water during the summer when the engine is not run. Several hundred electric lights have been renewed. The property as a whole is in good condition, thanks largely to the watchfulness of Mr. Jones, our engineer.

Entertainments.—The usual course of lectures and other entertainments has been provided for our members and their friends. A "Balopticon" lantern, which uses the house current of electricity, has been bought and used with satisfaction. The following entertainments have been given during 1917:

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|---------|---|
| Jan. 16 | "The Mountain People of Kentucky," with illustrative music on mountaineers' instruments. <i>Miss Ethel de Long</i> |
| Feb. 12 | "Lincoln's Message to the present Generation,"
..... <i>Hon. James Sullivan</i>
"The Lincoln Birthday Association and its Founder,"
..... <i>Mr. Frank L. Danforth</i>
Songs..... <i>Mrs. Winifred McConkey</i>
Accompanist..... <i>Miss Mary Howard</i> |
| Feb. 20 | Illustrated lecture: "Methods and Appliances of Modern Warfare"..... <i>Mr. Frank W. Skinner</i> |

- Mar. 13 Illustrated lecture: "Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans".....*Rev. Arthur J. Francis*
 Mar. 27 Illustrated lecture: "An Old Frontier of France".....*Mr. Frank H. Severance*
 Nov. 6 Illustrated lecture: "Colonies Old and New".....*Mr. Arthur Stanley Riggs*
 Nov. 20 Illustrated lecture: "Scenic and Historic Preservation in New York State".....*Mr. Edward Haganan Hall*
 Dec. 4 Illustrated lecture: "India and the War".....*Eustom Rustomjee*
 Dec. 11 Musicales. Soloists: *Mrs. Agnese Preston Storck, Miss Mabel Driver, Mr. Frank A. Watkins. Accompanist, Mr. E. Leon Trick.*
 Talk on the life and compositions of Stephen C. Foster.....*Mr. Frank H. Severance*

On February 27th, a literary and musical entertainment was given at the Historical Building, for The Scribblers and their guests. The annual commencement of North Park School (No. 21) was held in the Central Court, June 23d. As usual, a large number of classes from the public and parochial schools of the city have been entertained in the museum.

Varied activities.—This Society was represented by its president and the Hon. George Clinton at the centenary celebration of the Erie Canal, at Rome, July 4th; and by its secretary at the annual meeting, American Association of Museums, in New York and Brooklyn, May 21st to 25th; at the organization of a federation of historical societies of Western New York (styled "The Genesee Country"), at Canandaigua, June 29th; at the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, in New York City, October 2d, 3d and 4th; and at the annual meeting, American Historical Association, held in Philadelphia. December 27th. 28th and 29th.

As has been his custom for some years, the secretary has given numerous historical talks and illustrated lectures before various clubs, schools and other bodies. In March, a course of four lectures was given for the Arts Department, University of Buffalo. This work is done, not merely to oblige the organizations which solicit the service, but with a view to making the Historical Society more widely known, and to extend the field of its usefulness.

At the annual meeting of the Museums Association, in May, the publication was undertaken of a monthly paper styled *Museum News Letter*. It is a four-page paper for the information and help of museum workers, and its news items are presented under the three headings of Science, Art and History. The department of History

was confided to your secretary, and has been conducted by him during the year.

In submitting these notes on the various activities of his office for the past year the secretary would call attention to the constantly increasing field of work open to this institution.

While war conditions may make some curtailment and economies advisable, there will always be much for the Buffalo Historical Society to accomplish in this community. With a view to doing as much as possible, in the most efficient way, he urges that steps be taken which will enable him to devote more time to historical research, writing and editing—the field in which he is best qualified to serve the Society; placing the superintendence of the building, especially for museum care, development and instruction, in more capable hands, which shall carry on the work, with intelligent zeal and fidelity. Never in our long history were the opportunities for useful progress more evident, or insistent, than at this hour.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,
Secretary.

Messrs. Henry W. Hill, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, Charles R. Wilson and Captain Evan Hollister were reelected members of the Board of Managers for the term ending 1922.

At the annual election, January 10, 1918, the officers of 1917 were all reelected for the ensuing year.



FRANK M. HOLLISTER

IN MEMORIAM

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

FRANK M. HOLLISTER.

In the death of Frank M. Hollister, January 23, 1916, the Buffalo Historical Society has lost a member who was active in its management, interested in the welfare of the institution, and held in high esteem and affection by his associates.

Mr. Hollister had been a member of this Society since 1894, and had served continuously on its Board of Managers since December, 1911, when he was nominated by Mr. Henry A. Richmond, to fill a vacancy. Many of us can recall the general expression of pleasure which greeted his election to the Board—a pleasure and satisfaction that increased and deepened throughout his four years of service.

He was faithful in attendance, and gave efficient and willing help. He contributed most acceptably to the Publications of the Society. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Society, May 20, 1912, Mr. Hollister made the address at the unveiling of the tablet in memory of President Fillmore. It was an able and happy address. In the felicitous style which was characteristic of Mr. Hollister's writings he clearly and justly estimated President Fillmore's life and character, and the work of his Administration. On a subsequent occasion, he favored our members and friends with his illustrated reminiscences of notable Buffalonians of earlier days, giving the Society one of the most enjoyable and thoroughly-appreciated entertainments in its history.

Mr. Hollister was one of the representatives of this Society who shared in the work of the Buffalo Educational Union, of which he was the first and only president.

A man whose activities were a worthy service to the community, Mr. Hollister made many friends by his sincere, genial, lovable character. His associates in this Board, deeply lamenting his loss, hold fast the pleasant memory of so fine a life. We respectfully extend to his family this assurance of our deep sympathy.

HENRY R. HOWLAND,
ANDREW LANGDON,
FRANK H. SEVERANCE,
Committee.

WILLIS O. CHAPIN.

Again this Board mourns the loss of one of its members, Mr. Willis O. Chapin, whose death on April 7, 1917, deprives us of a true friend and esteemed associate.

Mr. Chapin became a member of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1886. For more than 30 years he had been interested in its welfare. On January 14, 1908, he was elected a member of the Board of Managers, and in that capacity, for the past nine years, he shared in its counsels, and as opportunity arose, gave help and advice, especially in matters of art, in which his studies and tastes well qualified him.

When, a few years since, the purchase of a considerable collection of rare and early engravings of Niagara Falls was under consideration by this Board, it was to Mr. Chapin that we turned for expert advice. With others, he selected the pictures which now make up a unique and valuable collection and which we shall always associate with his memory.

He had served as president of our sister institution, the Fine Arts Academy, and through him the association and coöperation of the two institutions were strengthened. He gave to us of his time and talent freely and with zeal.

We deeply mourn his absence from our Board, and with a wide circle of friends lament the passing of so esteemed an associate, so worthy a citizen.

Resolved, That this Minute of our appreciation be entered in the records of the Buffalo Historical Society, and that a copy of it, with an assurance of our profound sympathy, be sent to the bereaved family.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,
Secretary.



WILLIS O. CHAPIN

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

HISTORIC WAMPUM.—A gift of exceptional interest, received by the Buffalo Historical Society in 1917, came from Messrs. Van Eeghen & Co., Amsterdam, Holland. The donors, who are successors to the interests of the Holland Land Co., presented to this Society a fine wampum belt which was given to the Holland Land Company by the Tuscaroras in 1799; and also some string wampum given by the Seneca Nation to Colonel James Wadsworth in grateful recognition of service rendered in connection with the Treaty of 1797. Explaining the latter gift is a note in Dutch by the Holland Land Company's agent, of which the following is a translation:

This skein given September 15, 1797, by Sachems of the Seneca Nation of Indians to Colonel J. Wadsworth, appointed by the President of the United States of America to superintend the treaty between the Seneca Nation and Robert Morris. By this treaty the Senecas have given up their territory called the Genesee Country. On the occasion of which treaty this skein has been given in sign of friendship, and conformably to Indian usage.

Col. Wadsworth has very obligingly made me a gift of this proof of the good will of the Seneca tribe.

THEOPH. CAZENOVE.

NEW YORK, October 2, 1797.

The following letters were also received through the courtesy of Messrs. Van Eeghen & Co.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th Jany. 1799.

DEAR SIR:—A few days before I left home the principal chiefs of the Tuscarora nation came to me with an earnest request that I would petition the Holland company that their reservation might be enlarged and at the same time presented a large belt of wampum as a token of their earnest desire.

The Tuscaroras state that Mr. Ellicot sent a party of surveyors to run off their reservation (*viz.*) one mile square presented to them by the Holland company and also one mile square granted by the Seneca nation. The surveyors began at the westernmost part of their town and run a course east, and the two miles aforesaid did not include the whole of their houses and farms. (The number left out are the red marks on the small piece of paper inclosed which they gave to me.) The Tuscaroras made a very sensible speech on this subject—That they found the tract allotted to them was not sufficient to afford them a living, that they had many children among them which they were teaching to work in the manner that white people do, as they found they could not have recourse to any other method & without a larger quantity of land they must soon leave their poor children in a miserable condition. They say they have always been

a peaceable people, that when other nations were at war with the United States, they were peaceable, that if they had been of a bad disposition they might have joined the hostile Indians, as they had no land then that they could call their own and could have quitted their country; but they say they have chosen the place where they now live, having been driven quite from North Carolina and they beg their seats may be made so long as to yield them a living and their children after them. The principal chiefs of the Seneca nation were present at this talk and were much interested in the same, and told me that the Holland Land company might rest assured that if she would grant one more square mile to the Tuscaroras they would grant another on their part, making two square miles to be added to the two they had before.

I can add for my own opinion that I think the Tuscaroras as much deserving as any Indians, from their peaceable dispositions and their habit of industry which they appear desirous to promote; I believe Sir would you have seen them in their concern, the anxious feeling for their children and their own accommodation, would led you at once to have granted their request. I have thought it would not be improper to give you this statement in writing that you might be enabled better to understand the business.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to be with perfect esteem

Your obedient Servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

THE. CAZENOVE, *Agent of the Holland Land Company.*

PHILADELPHIA, 31 Jany., 1799.

Capt. ISRAEL CHAPIN,

Agent of the U. S. for Indian Affairs.

SIR—I have received your letter of the 27th Inst. and also the belt of wampom [*sic*] presented by the chiefs of the Tuscaroras nation to the Holland land company as a token of their earnest desire to have their reservation of land extended so as to comprehend one mile square [more] of land than the one mile square already granted to them, stating for reason of their request that a quantity of their wigwams have not been included in the land lately laid out for their use and that the tract allotted to them is not sufficient to afford them a living, the cultivation of the land being the only resource they can recur to.

Being only the Agent of the Holland Land company I can act only according to my instructions, and as those instructions contain no power to make a donation of land, I must request you to state to the chiefs of the Tuscaroras nation that their representation shall immediately be forwarded to Holland; but that from the knowledge I have of the Holl'd L. comp's generosity and good wishes towards the Indian tribes I have every reason to expect a favorable answer, and that Mr. Paul Busti who will succeed me in the comp'y's Agency will receive the proper instructions to grant to the Tuscaroras nation one mile square of land annexed to the one mile square already

granted, and upon the same clauses & conditions. In the meantime Mr. J. Ellicot shall be directed to lay out that new mile square of land in a manner convenient for both parties, in order that everything may be settled and ready when the expected authorization shall arrive.

I am with great regard

Your most obedient humble Servant

THEOP. CAZENOVE.

A FORT NIAGARA DATE ESTABLISHED.—Thanks to the patriotic spirit and energy of the Daughters of the War of 1812, the old mess-house at Fort Niagara has been marked with a suitable tablet. The exact date of surrender of this fort by the British to the Americans having been in doubt, search was made in the Dominion archives which resulted in the discovery of the following letter, which may be accepted as conclusive:

FORT GEORGE, 23d May, 1815.

SIR:—I have the honor to report to you that in obedience to the Orders and Instructions contained in your letter of the 16th Inst. the Fort of Niagara has been given up to the Troops of the United States yesterday at 11 o'clock A. M. The detachment that took possession of it consisted of about sixty men of the Artillery Corps under the Command of a Captain.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

L. DE WATTEVILLE,

M. Genl.

Lt.-General Sir GEORGE MURRAY, K. B.

CASE OF CAPTAIN LEONARD.—Captain Nathaniel Leonard's abandonment of Fort Niagara to the British, in December, 1813, is matter of familiar record. The following original document, ordering his arrest six months later, lately came into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society:

ADJ.-G-'N'S OFFICE, *Left-Div'n*,

BUFFALOE, 30th June, 1814.

SIR—By an order from the Adjutant & Inspector General's office. Captain Nathan'l Leonard, of the Artillery, has been retained on the rolls of the army.

On your arrival at Lima, from whence Captain Leonard reports, you will detach a subaltern and a sufficient escort, with orders to find Capt. Leonard, deliver the enclosed, and bring him under guard to the Head Quarters of the Officer commanding this Division.

By order of Major General Brown.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your very obt. servt.,

C. K. GARDNER,

Adj. Gen.

Captain S. D. HARRIS, Light Dragoons—on the march.

LETTER OF SALMON P. CHASE.—Among manuscripts recently acquired by the Buffalo Historical Society is the following interesting letter from Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln. It has not been ascertained to whom this letter was written, further than that he was editor of a paper in New England.

BUFFALO, July 29, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 1st July was forwarded to me from Cincinnati, and my answer has been delayed by my journeyings through the country with a sick wife which has left me very little leisure to write. I am glad to be able to say that I think Mrs. Chase's health is somewhat improved, though the nature of her disease—an affection of the lungs—does not admit of relief from painful apprehension so long as any unfavorable symptoms remain unsubdued.

I have seen but one number of your paper since I left home; and that was in the hands of John Van Buren in New York some three weeks ago, or less. I was glad to hear Van Buren speak very well of it, though sorry to find him unprepared to act in accordance with your recommendations. I am well satisfied that if the New York Democracy had formed no alliance with the Hunkers at the expense of their principles but had maintained their positions with boldness & decision as a democracy, which would make no compromise with slavery they would at this moment have held the control of the Empire State and would have been the nucleus of the living Democracy of the Union. At present everything is mixed up. The Whigs, many of them, anticipate a new secession by the Silver Greys and the promulgation by the Whig Convention of a Distinct Antislavery Platform. Doing this, these Whigs expect, with some reason, the aid of many antislavery democrats in the election of their ticket. On the other hand if they adopt a halfway ground, like that of the Ohio Whig Convention, and the Silvers do not succeed they expect to triumph through their own union and the divisions among the democrats. Of the Democrats, the Barnburners' policy is to give the whole antislavery and proslavery struggle the go-by and confine themselves wholly to state politics. The Hunkers on the other hand, will probably ask for an endorsement of the Compromise measures. They will probably fail in obtaining this, and possibly some general resolution may pass condemning the policy of the Administration in a lump. If so, the Hunkers may secede. At any rate they will support the ticket coldly. On the other hand many antislavery democrats, disgusted by the abandonment of their posi-

tions by the barnburners will not vote at all, in the absence of an independent democratic organization. On the whole it seems to me likely that the Whigs will carry this State next fall; a result which might have been avoided, by a bolder adhesion to their positions by the barnburners.

I regret exceedingly to read your observations upon the state of things in Massachusetts. I hope it may not be so bad as you think. The address of the Demc. Executive Committee is certainly a very remarkable document when the antecedents of some of the members is considered. I cannot believe, however, that it reflects the true sentiments of the Massachusetts Democracy. Will not the friends of freedom and manhood among the democrats bestir themselves to place in the Convention men who will put a veto upon all compromise platforms and resolutions? Failing in that—as I hope they may not—will they not rally promptly and decidedly upon the platform of independent democracy?

Have you noticed the proceedings of the Iowa Convention? What do you think of them? To me that Convention seems to have moved in the right direction. Their resolutions breathe the right spirit. They call themselves the Independent Democracy. I would prefer Democracy without affix or prefix; but the designation employed will do to distinguish the Democracy which will not bow to the Slave Power from the National Democracy which will—which bases its whole title to the name National upon submission to purchase the coöperation of the Slave Power.

In Ohio I do not know what precise course will be adopted. I have heard nothing from the State except through the newspapers of other states upon the subject of politics for some weeks. I expect to be at home this week and to be better advised.

The action of the Ravenna Convention was not what I hoped for, still there was progress made and in the right direction. I cannot agree in the view of Mr. Adams that the Free Soil Party will become the Chief Antagonist in the place of the Whig Party of the National Democracy. As a mere Free Soil organization it cannot exist much longer, in my judgment. I for one never dreamed of building up at Buffalo a mere Free Soil party; I hoped and supposed that a platform of democratic principles would be occupied by a democratic party, with sufficient breadth of scope to take into regard all the great interests and obligations of the country. That there were many who took a narrower view time has disclosed. Time has not yet disclosed what the result of a narrower policy will be.

A State convention of the Free Democracy has been called to assemble on the 21st of next month. In the meantime, the Whig and Old Line Democratic conventions will have assembled and made their nominations and adopted their platforms. The Whig party has already done so. Its platform is not satisfactory to earnest men; nor do I think that their ticket—though the names of several strong men are on it—can be regarded as a strong one.

The Demo. Conv. (old line) will meet next week. What its action will be remains to be seen. My impression is that it will take no new ground upon the slavery question and that it will nominate a ticket not unacceptable upon the whole to the Democrats with whom

I agree. There may be an attempt to procure the endorsement of the Compromise Measures, but if made I think it must fail. If such should be the course taken by the Old Line Democratic Convention my impression is that the Free Democratic Convention ought to pass resolutions putting the same construction on the existing slavery resolutions which the Toledo Convention adopted, and ratify the ticket at least by adopting all nominations not positively objectionable.

I shall be glad to hear from you as often as you can find time to write, without encroaching on that allotted to more important duties. I should be particularly pleased to hear of the increasing circulation of your paper. I suppose you have no thought of a daily? In a former letter you said something about selling out and removing to Ohio. We have had some further talk of a newspaper at Columbus. When I left the State the proprietor of the *Mt. Vernon Times* was thinking of removing his paper to that place. It is possible that should he do so a place might be found for you, if you could find one to fill your place, which I hardly think possible in Massachusetts.

Do you see much of Mr. Sumner? I have heard very little from him since his election.

Yours very cordially,

S. P. CHASE.

EDITORIAL NOTES

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO.—With the present issue the Publications Series of the Buffalo Historical Society attains the respectable proportions of twenty-two volumes, of which the present editor is responsible for nineteen. Whatever their merit, or usefulness as a repository of regional history, it is but natural that he should view them with some favor, cherishing the belief that through them some real service has been performed not only for the present but for coming generations. The high standard set by the editor and compiler of volumes One and Two—the Rev. Albert Bigelow—still serves as a mark for emulation. In a monetary way those first two volumes are becoming more and more valuable, for they are in demand, but hard to find. Some of the later issues, especially volume XVI, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," are already scarce. The series to date is by long odds the most valuable collection of material relating to the history of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier, in existence, and its cash value is not over-stated at one hundred dollars.

A TRIBUTE.—The papers in this volume are of varied character; but the principal group, including Mr. Julian Park's valuable "History of the University of Buffalo," Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard's historical sketch of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and the tributes of Dr. Charles G. Stockton and Mr. Adelbert Moot respectively to the memory of Dr. Roswell Park and Dr. Ernest Wende, all relate to the history of education in Buffalo, or to the life work of men devoted to the upbuilding of the University. The Chancellor of the University, Mr. Charles P. Norton, was to have been one of the speakers at the Park and Wende memorial meeting held by the Historical Society on the evening of April 18, 1916. Unable to share in the programme, the Chancellor sent to the Secretary a note, containing the following fine appreciation of Dr. Park and his work:

It is not so many years ago that it became apparent to men of first-rate intelligence that the conditions of life and of thought of the present time had changed from anything that men had previously known. I think Dr. Park, as a scientific man of first-rate intelligence, knew and felt deeply this impulse of his day. My belief is that he sought to apply to Buffalo through the University of Buffalo the basic principles of the intellectual advance of the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. He, with a few other men of intellectual impulse and vision, instituted the propaganda of the University movement as the best agent for putting his chosen city in touch with and abreast of

the unseen and vaguely understood laws that were carrying onward and upward humanity in his own generation.

At all events, some time in the later '80's, or early '90's, he, with a few others, began to try to adapt newly discovered knowledge to the needs of the neighborhood of Buffalo. He instituted departments of pedagogy and veterinary surgery in the University, and sought to centralize and organize the departments of the University already existing. These departments of pedagogy and veterinary surgery failing, he, with others, took up the bolder and grander project of the creation of the Department of Arts and Sciences. To most Buffalo men, the large capital needed for this project branded it as impracticable. It has been an incalculable boon to Buffalo that the University of Buffalo possessed a leader of Dr. Park's undaunted courage, who both by his commanding personality prevented the cold business common-sense of that day from rendering this scheme abortive; and by his sagacity foresaw that Buffalo's manifest destiny was toward a commercial prosperity which would put the means for the accomplishment of such a department within reach of its citizens. Others foresaw the benefits of the scheme, but considered it impossible. He, with a few others, alone foresaw that it was not only desirable but possible.

Of his twenty years' labor toward its accomplishment I say nothing. All men know it. This man performed many great works in his career, but to me the greatest was his instant response to his understanding of the best impulse of his day, and his unswerving, untiring, and undaunted labor to achieve its benefits for his friends, his neighbors, and his fellow citizens.

A BUFFALO POET'S TRIBUTE.—Not the least valuable feature of this volume is Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard's historical record of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, an institution which served well its purpose for many years, the story of which in its last chapter merges into that of the University of Buffalo. A generation ago, when the Union's work begun, a beloved teacher and poet of Buffalo was Miss Mary A. Ripley. The following lines, written by her, and printed on a souvenir for the opening exercises, October 30, 1886, may be recalled and preserved here:

As a brave oak in meadow green,
Through many a lingering summer stands,
Wrought on by Nature's myriad hands,
'Till far abroad its pride is seen;

And wins its strength from beating storm,
And all its veins with sweetness fills,
And drinks its life from hidden rills,
And slowly builds a noble form;

And spreads a shade for noon-tide rest,
And kindly cheers the panting beast,
Inviting to the dewy feast,
And comforting each humble guest;

So grand, a human purpose grows—
It lifts itself by slow degrees,
'Till suddenly the watcher sees
How gracious, how divine it shows.

Oh friends, you read my meaning clear!
No word is worth before strong deeds,
That serve and succor human needs—
And yet I greet you freely here;

And bring my little meed of praise—
A daisy snatched beside the way,
Unfit to deck so proud a day—
A weed to mingle with your bays.

A UNIQUE CANAL SOUVENIR.—This volume contains a report of the participation of the Buffalo Historical Society in the exercises at Rome, N. Y., July 4, 1917, commemorative of the first construction work on the Erie Canal, one hundred years before, at Rome. One interesting incident of the celebration was the exhibition of the original model according to which the first boats on the canal were built. The model, which is 35 inches long, made of cedar, and finely put together, was brought from England in 1817 by Canvass White, and remained in his family for fifty years. It then passed into the family of his kinsman, William C. White of Whitesboro, who presented it to the Buffalo Historical Society. President Hill carried it down to Rome, carefully wrapped—for it is very fragile—under his arm, and brought it back in the same manner.

NIAGARA SHIP CANAL SCHEMES.—Hon. Henry W. Hill has performed a notable service in writing the "Historical Sketch of Niagara Ship Canal Projects," which appears in this volume. It is a phase of local history, of wide interest, which has not hitherto been adequately presented. One note, relevant to the subject, may be here appended.

In 1840 the matter of a Niagara Ship Canal was brought to the attention of Congress through resolutions introduced by Mr. Duer of Oswego, authorizing the Federal Government to construct such a canal around Niagara Falls. In the debate which followed, the proposition was vigorously and successfully opposed by Mr. Hawley

of Buffalo. He cited the instance of the Welland canal, alleging that since its construction it had not been able to pay two per cent. on the construction cost. He further urged that a Niagara Ship Canal would injure the commercial interests of New York State; that it would be of no value in a war emergency; and that it would so draw away traffic from the Erie Canal as to ruin that great thoroughfare. Mr. Hawley took the ground that it having become the established policy of the State to promote and develop the interests of the rural communities by means of the facilities of the Erie Canal, it would be a radical mistake to construct another canal whose only operation would be to nullify that policy. Mr. Hawley's speech on the subject is reported at considerable length in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser and Journal* of February 25, 1840.

THE TUSCARORAS.—One paper in this volume dealing with the Tuscaroras is chiefly an attempt to trace their migrations down to the time of their settlement in Western New York. It throws no new light on those distant years when they were said to belong to the Iroquois Confederacy, before they wandered into the South-land. There are no records of that early time—nothing but myth and legend, which weigh but little with the student who seeks facts.

The historian Schoolcraft has preserved a tradition to the effect that the Tuscaroras began their existence as an organized people, in the vicinity of Oswego Falls; that they migrated thence to Lake Erie, then to the Mississippi; a part of them crossed the great river and became the enemies of those who remained on the eastern bank, and were finally lost and forgotten. He further records:

Terenyawagon, the Holder of the Heavens, who was the patron of the home bands, did not fail, in this crisis, to direct their way also. After giving them practical instructions in war and hunting, he guided their footsteps in their journeys, south and east, until they had crossed the Alleghenies and reached the shores of the sea, on the coasts of what are now called the Carolinas. They were directed to fix their residence on the banks of the Cautano, that is, "a pine in the water," now called Neuse river, in North Carolina. By this time their language was altered, but not so much but that they could understand each other. Here Terenyawagon left them to hunt, increase and prosper, whilst he returned to form the Iroquois Confederacy.¹

Excellent as is our authority, this is obviously not history, but tradition. History picks up the Tuscaroras exactly where tradition leaves them. They were living on the Neuse and the Taw, the

1. "Census of the Iroquois," 64 (1846). See also Elias Johnson's "Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and History of the Tuscarora Indians," Lockport, N. Y., 1861.

Roanoke, the Pamlico and the Trent—a goodly land, between the mountains and the sea. Because it was good, white settlers pressed into it. When we first have authentic record of the Tuscaroras, they appear as an aggressive, warlike folk—as though they had carried south some of the qualities that made the Mohawks and Senecas feared in the North. They had been at war with other tribes in the region—Catawbas and Cherokees; and seem to have had rather the best of it. Later, when they came into conflict with the whites, they found a foe of different mettle.

We find no authentic record of the Tuscaroras earlier than 1708, at which date they dwelt, in several villages, in the region above indicated. The story of their return to the North is set forth in this volume; but the story of their original exodus from New York State probably can never be told.

RAPID TRANSIT IN BUFFALO.—During the past year there has been general and endless discussion and criticism regarding the means of transportation provided for the citizens of Buffalo within their own city. An early stage in the development of the system which we now enjoy (?) is amusingly recalled by the following item from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of June 23, 1835, where it bore the heading: “Westward the Omnibus doth take its way”:

We this morning had the pleasure of witnessing the introduction among the numerous vehicles which throng our streets, of that very useful public accommodation—the Omnibus. The Atlantic cities have long enjoyed the facilities afforded by these conveniences, but this is the first attempt, we believe, to establish them west of New York. For this improvement we are indebted to our enterprising citizen, Benjamin Rathbun, whose tireless efforts for the advancement of our city interests, are so widely known and so highly valued. He has ordered three of these vehicles built in New York, one of which has arrived, and was this morning put in operation. It is a handsome and well-constructed carriage, and capable of containing about 16 persons, sitting *vis-a-vis*, and has a very equable and easy motion, which renders it a pleasant as well as useful conveyance. It is aptly named the “Experiment” and is drawn by four beautiful dark greys—running at present from the foot of Main street to the Eagle Tavern, every half hour. The other two are daily expected from New York.

We hope that as Mr. Rathbun has procured these vehicles at much expense, for the use and accommodation of the public, without any desire or expectation of private emolument, the enterprise may be liberally sustained.

"MORAL SOCIETY OF BUFFALO."—Here is a reminder of a yet earlier Buffalo, here printed from a record in the keeping of the Buffalo Historical Society:

WARNING.—All persons are hereby warned against teaming, unloading goods, wares or merchandise on the Sabbath. The keeping open of stores and all hunting and fishing are likewise forbidden on the Sabbath. Parties of pleasure riding or walking to Black Rock or elsewhere are also prohibited. All Sabbath desecrators will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

MORAL SOCIETY OF BUFFALO.

Deacon AMOS CALLENDER.

Dated—Buffalo, N. Y., June 21, 1818.

PERIODICAL PRESS OF BUFFALO.—In Vol. XIX of these Publications was published a list of Buffalo periodicals from 1811 to 1915. A few publications not then noted, and a number which have appeared since, are here listed as matter of record. The "*" indicates Historical Society Library; the "†" Buffalo Public Library.

*The *American Jewish Review*. Weekly. First published Atlanta, Ga., 1913. Removed to Buffalo, where it appeared Friday, Nov. 9, 1917, that issue being Vol. IX, No. 1. Albert Herskowitz, editor and proprietor, 118 Anderson Place; 8 pp., *ill.*

"A tri-city journal for the Jewish home. Published every Friday in Buffalo, N. Y., for Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, N. Y., and American Jewry."—*Editor's announcement.*

*The *Bank Depositor*. Jan., 1917. Monthly, by the Market Bank.
Bethel Tidings. 1881. Monthly. 4to. In the interest of the Buffalo Bethel Home. Rev. J. O. Hazelton, editor.

*†The *Binnacle of the Buffalo Yacht Club*. July, 1915. Monthly. "Published for the benefit of the members and for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Buffalo Yacht Club." Jos. B. Ford, editor and chairman of editorial board. Edward Sherlock, bus. mgr., 204 D. S. Morgan Bldg. 4to. *ill.*

*†The *Bulletin*. Buffalo Chapter, American Red Cross. July, 1917. Monthly. Miss Mabel Wilcox, director. Niagara Life Bldg.

*Burt's *Box Bulletin*. 1903. Monthly, by the F. N. Burt Co., Ltd. John A. Holmes, editor. Miss Charlotte Koepf, associate editor. 8vo., with cover.

*The *Business Outlook*. June, 1917. Monthly, by the Bank of Buffalo, for free distribution. 4to, pp. 4.

*The *Calendar of the Church of the Holy Angels*, 348 Porter avenue, Buffalo. 1901. Monthly. Issued on the last Sunday of each month in the interests of the Church and School. 8vo. pp. 24 and cover.

*†The *Curtiss Flyleaf*. July, 1917. Monthly. Issued by the Educational Dept., Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation. 4to. *ill.*

- No. 4 (Oct., 1917), special "Patriotic" No. ill. and in colors, to aid sale of Liberty Bonds.
- **The Frontier Christian*. Sept., 1916. Weekly. "For the dissemination of religious news," by the Richmond Avenue Church of Christ. John P. Sala, editor, 124 Richmond ave.; W. L. Kirby, associate editor. In 1917, N. J. Tiffany, ed.; 25 cts. pr. yr.
- **Home and Health*. Published for the Red Cross Pharmacy, 127 Grant st. 4 pp. Occasional. An issue of Feb., 1918, is marked: "Vol. 18."
- **The Hutch-in-Sun*. Nos. 1 and 2 (Apr. 16 and 24, 1917), appeared with the heading, *What shall it be?* Weekly, by a board of editors chosen by the pupils of Hutchinson High School. 4to, pp. 4.
- The Kitchen Magazine*. Feb., 1917. By E. J. Gowdy, 45 N. Division st.
- **Buffalo Labor Journal*. Saturday, Nov. 10, 1917. Weekly, pp. 8. Official organ of the Central Labor Council of Buffalo and vicinity. By the Buffalo Printing Co., 616 Genesee st. Stuart A. Hayward, pres.; George W. Bork, secy.; Jas. P. Doyle, publicity mgr.
- *†*The Lantern*. April, 1909, by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 86 Delaware ave. Mrs. George A. Bailey, editor. Last issue, March, 1910.
- Leader* (The Sunday). See "The Sunday Leader."
- Legal Daily*. See "Buffalo Daily Transcript."
- **Lynam Direct Advertising*. 1915. (Issue for Nov., 1917, is marked: "Third year, sixteenth number.") 8vo. pp. 16. printed in red and black; pictorial cover. J. T. Lynam Co., 45 N. Division st.
- **Mines and Mining*. July 15, 1917. A weekly review devoted to the interests of investors, by Mark Harris, Mutual Life Bldg., Buffalo. (Also Toronto.) 4to. pp. 4.
- Municipal Hospital Journal*. 1917. Daily, changed to weekly, Oct., 1917. By children at the hospital.
- Natural Gas and Gasoline Journal*. Jan., 1917, succeeding and continuing the *Natural Gas Journal*, q. v. (list of 1915).
- Nichols Nuntius*. Feb.-June, 1913. Bi-weekly, by pupils of the Nichols School, Amherst st.
- **The Opinion* of the Buffalo Republican League. Feb., 1894. Published monthly by the Committee on Political Information of the Buffalo Republican League. Wm. H. Hotchkiss, chm., Francis G. Ward, Wm. T. Hornaday; 50 cts. pr. yr. 4to. Continued several months.
- *†*Over the Top*. Oct. 8, 1917. Daily to Oct. 27, 1917, during the second Liberty Loan campaign. Vol. II., 3d Liberty Loan, from Apr. 6, 1918. By the Publicity Dept. Liberty Loan Committee.
- **Pierce Bicycle News*. 1915. Monthly (or occasional) by the Pierce Cycle Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
- †*Pnyx*. Sept., 1913, to June, 1914. Monthly, by the Nichols School, Amherst st., 16 pp.
- The Quarterly Railroad Register*, and General Advertiser, embracing an alphabetical list of every railroad, with the lengths, connec-

tions and stations, in North America. 1856-57. Quarterly, by Deboest T. Stiles. 50 cts. pr yr.

A contemporary newspaper speaks of it as a quarterly pamphlet, "a most useful little book." The publisher's address is given in the Buffalo Directory for 1856, as No. 11 Chestnut st.; in '57, 226 N. Division st.; and in '60, as 373 Michigan st., but the *Register* is only mentioned as of 1856 and '57.

**Square Deal*. Oct. 5, 1917. Weekly (Fridays) by Wm. P. Kilcawley, editor and publisher, 75 E. Eagle st. "Organized labor's weekly." 4 pp. 7 cols. to the page. Mr. Kilcawley had been business manager of the Buffalo Catholic Publication Co.. Discontinued after six weeks.

**Store News*. 1917. Monthly, by Davis Bros., Ferry and Grant sts., for free distribution.

The *Sunday Leader*. 1876 (?) Known to the compiler only through an adv. in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 9, 1876, p. 3, col. 5.

*The *Theatrical News* of Buffalo. Week of Oct. 21, 1917. Weekly. Published by the Pictureplay Publicity Bureau of Buffalo, Palace Theatre Building, 327 Main st. Irvin J. W. Huber, gen. mgr. 8 pp. 7 cols. to the page, ill. "Theater patrons' guide to stageland and filmdom."

*†Buffalo Daily *Transcript* and Legal Daily. Jan., 1916. Transcript Pub. Corporation, 658 Ellicott Square. John B. Joslyn, man. ed. The early issues (Jan. and Feb.) bear the title, *Legal Daily*. Discontinued, July, 1917.

**Trust Company Service*. July, 1917. Monthly by the City Trust Co. Erie Co. Savings Bank Bldg., 8vo, pp. 8 and cover.

**West Side Forester*. 1909. (Vol. VIII, No. 2, July, 1917.) 8m. 4to, pp. 4. Quarterly, by Court West Side, No. 1306, Independent Order of Foresters, 91 Rhode Island st. Printed at Young's Print Shop, 70 Ellicott st.

The following memoranda are either by way of correction of the list of 1915, or give more precise data:

The *Boatman's Magazine*, begun Oct., 1834 (B. P. L.).

The *Endeavorer*. In B. P. L.

Buffalo *Enquirer*. First issue, Apr. 8, 1891. See *Express*, Apr. 11, 1916.

Buffalo *Evening Post*. Discontinuance was announced July 13, 1877.

Buffalo *Freie Presse*. First issue as daily, June 8, 1872.

The *Globe*. First issue, Apr. 3, 1873.

The *Scientific Commercial*. Begun Nov., 1875.

South Side Topics. Became (1916) *South Side*; issued irregularly.

The *Wool Grower*. Its editor, Theodore C. Peters, died in Brooklyn, N. Y., May 6, 1876. See sketch in Buffalo *Commercial*, May 8, 1876.

OLD BUILDINGS THAT ARE GONE.—We continue our pictorial record of the Buffalo that has passed away, with a few views of notable buildings and places.

Early in 1916 the old building at the northeast corner of Main and North Division streets, which in its last years was the Bijou Theatre, was torn down for the erection of the new home of the Bank of Buffalo. Already the old building has an unfamiliar look, so soon do we become accustomed to the new.

One of our pictures shows the building on Washington street which for many years served as a passenger station for the Lehigh Valley Railroad. The site is now covered by the new passenger terminal of this road. The old station at Scott and Washington streets was torn down in the spring of 1916.

The George R. Howard mansion on Delaware Avenue north of Summer street was razed in April, 1916. The new residence of Mrs. Seymour H. Knox now occupies this site.

Two houses at the northwest corner of Main street and Bryant street, in the spring of 1916, were demolished and the site built up for business uses. The corner house, a handsome three-story brick building, was erected in 1876 by Mrs. Martha Ransom, wife of Dr. D. Ransom, who acquired the property in the '60's. It was the home for three generations of the Ransom family. About 1911 Charles H. Ransom sold it to Dr. P. Harold Hayes, who in turn, with others of the family who were part owners, sold it to the Overland-Buffalo Company, which has erected a large building on the site. The small house adjoining was occupied by Edward B. Eggert for 40 years. It was built by H. G. Nolton, cashier of the old Bank of Commerce, but never occupied by him. This house was bought by Mrs. W. C. Kraft, and moved to the corner of West Ferry street and Linwood avenue.

The most famous Buffalo building recently demolished was the Johnson Cottage, on Delaware Avenue at Johnson Park. Built about 1832-3, it was contemporary with the existence of Buffalo as a city, and was the home of Buffalo's first mayor, Ebenezer Johnson. In its eighty odd years of existence it had undergone some changes. An old oil painting, owned by the Historical Society, made about the time the house was built, shows a portico with six pillars. A fire, many years since, brought about changes; but the views published in this volume show it as it had been for many years. To many readers today, our pictures will recall its long occupancy by Rev. Dr. A. T. Chester, when principal of the Buffalo Seminary. Before Dr. Chester's time it was the home of Dr. Charles E. West,

first principal of the Seminary, for which Goodell Hall was built, adjoining the cottage on the west or Johnson Park side. It was Dr. West who planned the building, long called Goodell Hall because of Jabez Goodell's gift of \$10,000 to the building fund. It was also Dr. West who planted the trees around the cottage. Here, in his time, were entertained Louis Agassiz and many another distinguished visitor. The house had many associations, and its preservation would have tended to preserve some measure of attractiveness in a once beautiful neighborhood now largely rebuilt for business uses. Buffalo does not preserve its historic homes.

Another fine old house in the same section, the former residence of Sherman S. Jewett, was demolished in 1917. Its site is now covered by the Delaware Court buildings.

Two views of the Sea Wall Strip, from which the City has finally removed the squatters and their picturesque abodes, will help preserve the memory of this part of Buffalo's water-front as it has long appeared. Present plans contemplate the construction of a modern thoroughfare, with other changes which in a few years probably will thoroughly transform the region.

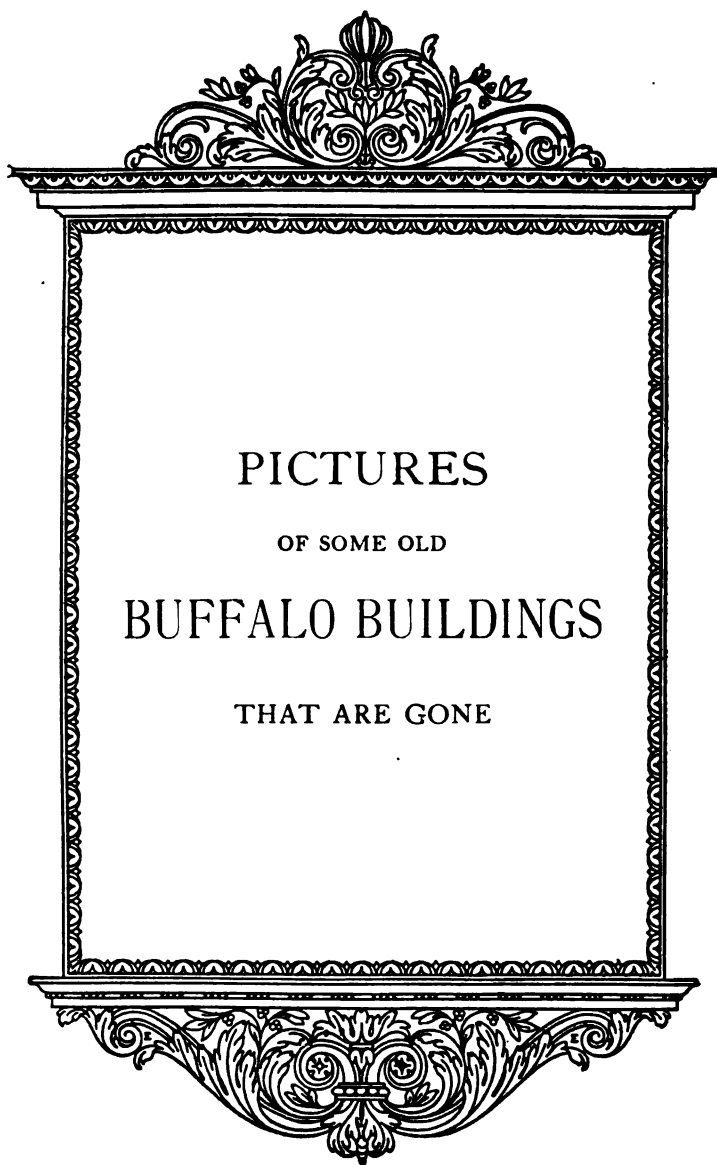
The "Billy" Sunday tabernacle on East Ferry Street had a short but lively history. Used for eight weeks for a "religious campaign," it was torn down soon after the end of the meetings, Spring of 1917. Its seating capacity was 16,000.

The old white house, long a familiar landmark at the corner of Main Street and Fillmore Avenue, owned by the Buffalo Cement Company, Limited, in 1916 was torn down and replaced by a brick building consisting of five stores and five apartments. This house of late years has been known as the "Ensign House" by reason of the fact that the near-by quarries were once owned by Charles Ensign. Mrs. Cornelia Hamilton, whose grandfather was a member of the first United States Senate, made the statement some seventeen years ago (she was then seventy-five years old) that she lived there as a little girl five years old; having been taken there by her grandfather from Batavia, who moved all his household effects in a wagon drawn by an ox-team. This would make the old part of the house about one hundred years old. The frame work was of hewn timbers, and these and the lath were cut by hand from the woods east of the house—the woods at that time consisting largely of small hickory, with some oak and butternut.

In the old quarry east of the Erie and the D., L. & W. Railroads were found hundreds of flint arrow-heads and stones such as are

used in the making of tomahawks. These were made at this point on account of the unusually hard, flinty stone.

At the foot of Washington street, for many years, the four-story wedge-shaped building of C. H. McCutcheon was a familiar structure. It finally disappeared, not without some litigation, to make room for the requirements of the Lackawanna Railroad, whose new passenger station is just across Ohio street from this site. Further radical changes in that neighborhood are likely to come soon, involving the demolition of numerous old buildings.



PICTURES

OF SOME OLD

BUFFALO BUILDINGS

THAT ARE GONE



THE JOHNSON COTTAGE, DELAWARE AVENUE. BUILT 1832, TORN DOWN 1917.



HALL AND STAIR OF THE JOHNSON COTTAGE.



FORMER HOME OF SHERMAN S. JEWETT, DELAWARE AVENUE NEAR JOHNSON PARK.

Torn down 1917. Site now covered by Delaware Court buildings.



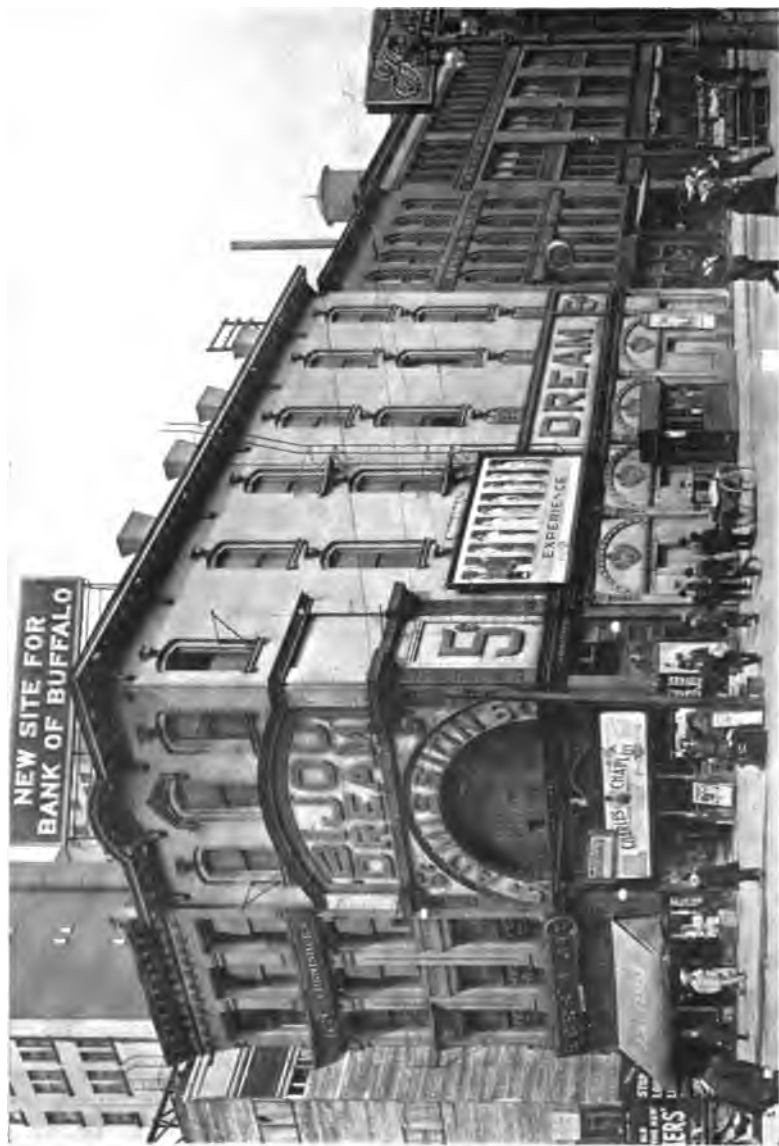
THE GEORGE HOWARD RESIDENCE, 806 DELAWARE AVENUE.
Torn down 1916. Site now occupied by the new residence of Mrs. S. H. Knox.



RANSOM AND SCHAEFFER HOUSES, MAIN AND BRYANT STREETS, REMOVED 1916.



THE ENSIGN HOUSE, MAIN STREET AND FILLMORE AVENUE. TAKEN DOWN, 1916.



BUILDINGS, N. DIVISION AND MAIN STREETS, REPLACED BY BANK OF BUFFALO, 1917.



OLD BUILDINGS, WASHINGTON STREET, LONG USED AS LEHIGH VALLEY STATION.

Replaced, 1917, by a new passenger station.

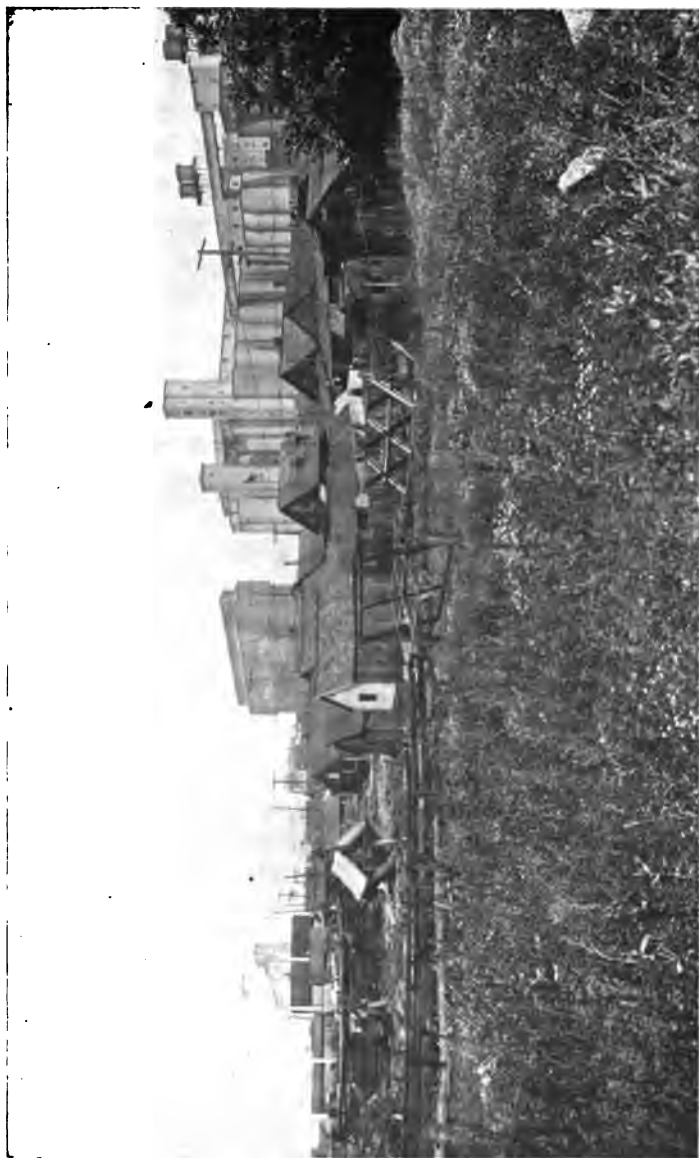


MCCUTCHEON BUILDING, FOOT OF WASHINGTON STREET, TORN DOWN 1916.



THE "BILLY" SUNDAY TABERNACLE, EAST FERRY STREET.

Scene of the "religious campaign," Jan. 28, to Mar. 25, 1917. Total attendance, 1,020,440; "trail-hitters," 32,268; money given, \$101,008.02.



THE SEA-WALL STRIP: EAST OF SOUTH MICHIGAN STREET, LOOKING NORTHWEST.
Cleared for improvements, 1917.



THE SEA-WALL STRIP: WEST OF SOUTH MICHIGAN STREET, LOOKING WEST.
Occupied by squatters for many years. Cleared for improvements, 1917.



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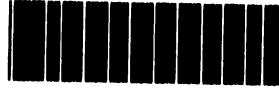
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